

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, VOL. XXXV.

AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDARAH,

NEAR AGRA.

DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED

BY

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ALLAHABAD:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY F. LUKER, SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES.

1909.

PREFACE.

THE present volume of the *Imperial Series of Archæological Reports* is, in the main, the work of the late Mr. Edmund W. Smith, in whose name it is published; but it is due to the memory of that archæologist to state that the manuscript, which he left behind him, was little more than a rough preliminary draft, and that the revision of it, which his untimely death prevented him from carrying out, has had to be left to other hands.

Mr. W. H. Nicholls, who charged himself with the work of this revision, has made it his aim throughout to preserve the arrangement of the materials designed by the author, and, in other respects, to alter them as little as possible. He has, however, been careful to correct any manifest errors in the original, and has introduced into it, moreover, such changes and additions as his own investigations into the history and architecture of this famous edifice proved to be necessary. It is singularly unfortunate that, having done so much, Mr. Nicholls should have been unable, owing to his retirement from the Archæological Department, to see the proofs of this volume through the press. That task has devolved upon Dr. Horovitz and myself, and we must accept the responsibility for any blemishes that may have crept in while the work has been in the printer's hands.

J. H. Marshall,

Simla, the 20th July, 1909.

Director General of Archæology.

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AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDARAH, AGRA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SIKANDARAH, the village where the remains of Akbar the Great are interred, is situated some six miles to the north-west of Agra on the Delhi and Lahore road.

"It has been supposed that the Āgrā of the earlier period of the Lōdī dynasty was at Sikandarā, or divided between Sikandarā and the Lodi Khān-kā-tilā, a quarter of the present city of Āgrā. Remains of the sites of innumerable buildings on each side of the road from Āgrā to Sikandarā and round about Sikandarā itself are still to be seen, of many of which it is impossible now to discover who the founder ...." [1] was.

The present village bears the marks of former opulence and greatness, but now only affords a shelter to a few of the poorest peasants content to dwell beneath the crumbling roofs of decaying grandeur.

The most important building at Sikandarah besides Akbar's tomb is the Bāradarī of Sikandar Lodī, built in A.D. 1495. It "is a square building of red sandstone, 142 feet on each side, and comprises two storeys with a vault below the ground-floor containing about forty chambers. Each corner of the building is surmounted by a short ornamental octagonal tower. This building is commonly known as the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife, because Akbar interred his wife Mariām-uz-zāmānī, the mother of Jahāngīr, here. The tomb is in the vault below, and in the centre of the upper storey is a white marble cenotaph." [2]

This building was presented by Government about the time of the Mutiny to the Church Missionary Society, and the crypt containing the tomb was closed. It is very doubtful whether Akbar had a Christian wife at all, but the building is commonly called the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife, and some people state that a cross was carved upon the grave. Whilst staying at Sikandarah the writer had the crypt opened up to ascertain if this was so or not; but no trace of a cross was found upon the tomb, which is a very plain one in cement, raised a few inches only above the terraced floor of the chamber. The crypt measures 10′ 6″ × 10′ 6″, and is 8′ 11″ in height. The entrance to it is in the centre of the southern corridor below the pavement.

Another interesting building at Sikandarah is the Kānch Mahall, a little to the east of Akbar's tomb within a walled garden belonging to the Church Missionary Society. It is a very fine specimen of XVIIth century Mughal architecture, and it is said to have been built for Jahāngīr's wife Jodh Bāī. It is two storeys high and is constructed of red sandstone beautifully carved from top to bottom.[3]

A short history of Akbar's reign has been given in the writer's report on the architecture of Fathpūr Sīkrī,[4] but, for the benefit of those unacquainted with this

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[1] Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*, p. 76.

[2] *Op. Cit.*, *ib.*

[3] E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra.*

[4] E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpūr Sīkrī.*

book, a few brief extracts relating to Akbar's life and character are repeated here. The epoch of Akbar is of the greatest importance to students of the history of India. It is the period when administration under native rule was best and most efficient, and it is, moreover, the period of which the most detailed and exact accounts have been written and preserved. Akbar was the third Indian sovereign of the house of Tīmūr. His grandfather Bābar had founded the Mughal Empire in A.D. 1525, and after a brief reign of five years had died at Agra (in the Chārbāgh), December 26th, 1530. Ten years later, his son and successor, Humāyūn, was defeated and driven out of India by the able and determined Afghān chief, Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh died on the throne, and was succeeded by a son and grandson, while Humāyūn took refuge with Ṭahmāsp, the Shāh of Persia, the restored Afghāns keeping their power for fifteen years.

The story of Humāyūn's flight is told by his faithful ewer-bearer, Jauhar, who accompanied him in his exile. Jauhar tells us that, in October 1542, a little party of seven or eight horsemen and a few camels was wearily journeying over the sandy wastes of Sind, worn out with fatigue and famished with thirst. The fugitive Prince Humāyūn, his wife, the youthful Ḥamīdah (Humāyūn met this young lady when on a visit to his brother Hindāl's mother: she was a daughter of a Sayyid, a native of Jām in Khurāsān), the ewer-bearer Jauhar, an officer named Roshan Beg, and a few others formed the party. When Roshan's horse was worn out, he insisted upon taking one, which he had lent to the queen, a young girl of fifteen within a few days of her confinement. Humāyūn gave his own horse to his wife, walked some distance, and then got on a baggage camel. A few hours afterwards, the forlorn wanderers entered the fort of Amarkoṭ, near Tatta, which is surrounded by a dreary waste of sand-hills. Here, under the shade of a tree, young Ḥamīdah gave birth to the prince Akbar, who afterwards became the most enlightened thinker, and the ablest administrator of his age. This was on the 14th of October. When Humāyūn heard the news, Jauhar, by his order, brought a pod of musk, which the fugitive king broke and distributed among his followers, saying "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame, I trust, will one day be expanded all over the world, even as the perfume of this musk now fills this apartment."

Akbar was in his fourteenth year when he ascended the throne; but he possessed a capable guardian in Bairām Khān, who commanded the Mughal army, and acted as Prime Minister during the Emperor's minority. The Hindū General Himū had already seized Delhi, when Bairām gave him battle and utterly defeated him (5th November, A.D. 1556) on the battle-field of Pānīpat, the scene of so many eventful conflicts in Indian history; and the boy emperor found himself, at a single blow, master of most of Hindustān, though his authority in distant parts of his nominal dominions was at first somewhat shadowy.

Of the many famous sovereigns of the east, few are comparable with Akbar, and to him indisputably belongs the first place amongst the rulers of Hindustān. Not only was he equally great as a man, a warrior and a statesman, but his reign fell at a time fitted to afford the finest play to his eminent qualities . . . . All over Northern India are found enduring traces of his activity and influence, now in magnificent architectural creations, as at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, now in traditions of his mighty deeds which yet live in the mouths of the peoples of India; while, as a hero of nations

poetry, he is immortalized as the great King who first conquered and then protected the Hindūs.

Akbar's kingdom extended from Kābul to Ḍhākā and from Kāshmīr to Aḥmadnagar. In dealing with the difficulties arising in the government of this peculiarly heterogeneous empire he stands absolutely supreme among Oriental sovereigns, and may challenge comparison with the greatest of European rulers. He was himself the fount and source of the sagacious policy of his Government; and the proof of the soundness of his system is the continuance of the Mughal Empire after his death, in spite of the folly and vices of his successors, until it was undone by the bigoted re-action of his greatgrandson, Aurangzeb. To have united, under one form of government, Hindūs and Muhammadans, Shī'ahs and Sunnīs, Rājpūts and Afghāns, and all the numerous races and tribes of Hindustān, was a Herculean task, the difficulty of which can be adequately appreciated only by those who know the force of caste prejudices and religious obstinacy in Indian history. Akbar was the first sovereign who solved the problem, if only temporarily.

To comment, in detail, on Akbar's system of government is beyond the scope of this short introductory chapter; it will be sufficient to indicate a few salient features in his policy. His chief difficulties lay in the diversity and jealousies of the races and religions with which he had to deal. He met them by wise toleration. In religion, his latitude went perhaps to fantastic lengths. He established, at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, the 'Ibādat-khānah or the "Hall of Worship" for the discussion of philosophical and religious problems by men of diverse opinions. . . . He set up an eclectic Pantheism in the place of Islām, and selected from various creeds what he thought most worthy of admiration. He abolished taxes upon religious non-conformity. He employed Hindūs, Shī'ahs and Sunnīs equally, and conferred like honours upon each denomination.

Akbar is described by his son Salīm, who succeeded him under the name of Jahāngīr, as being a man of middle height, wheat-coloured with black eyes and eyebrows. His elegance surpassed the beautiful. He was lion-bodied, with an open chest, long hands and arms. On the left nostril was a fleshy wart as big as half a pea of medium size. Those who were well-versed in physiognomy looked upon this wart as a mark of large fortune and great prosperity. His voice was very loud. In speech he possessed an elegance all his own, and in manners and habits he had no affinity with other people of this world.[1] Everything was food for his activities, and his career was an unbroken development of character. In youth he was a dashing and impetuous soldier, and together with physical vigour he had a capacity for intellectual occupation, which time fostered to be the assuagement of his failing health.

Under the sway of Akbar the Arts flourished. He encouraged painters, sculptors and architects. He paid no regard to the religious tenet, which prohibited the representation of living beings in art. He adorned his palaces with scenes from the sacred legends of Christianity and Buddhism, and images of Christ himself and Buddha were to be found in his court.

The Mughal style of architecture,[2] which sprang up under Akbar, passed its zenith about the year A.D. 1658. Bābar, Akbar's grandfather, built, and largely too,

[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*—edited by Sayyid Aḥmad, (Allygurh, 1864), p. 14.

[2] Cf. E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra.*

but none[1] of his buildings are left to us. "In Agra alone," he tells us in his memoirs,[2] "I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Agra, Sikrī, Biana, Dholpūr, Gualior and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1,491 stone cutters." Humāyūn also built widely, and we learn from Firishtah and other sources that he adorned his capital with many splendid edifices. But his son Akbar was the great master builder of his race. Under him, the Mughal style flourished and grew to perfection, only to decay under the influence of Aurangzeb. The finest examples of the style are to be seen in the splendid capital which Akbar founded at Fathpūr Sīkrī in the year A.D. 1570, and in the so-called Jahāngīrī Mahall in the Agra Fort.

The style may be divided broadly into two main schools. Classified under the first are the buildings erected by Akbar and his son Jahāngīr between the years A.D. 1556 and 1630, composed of a mixture of Hindū and Muhammadan architecture, and designated by some the mixed Hindū-Muhammadan style of Upper India; and under the second, the marble edifices erected by Shāh Jahān between the years A.D. 1640 and 1658, in which Persian ideas predominate. After 1658, with the accession of Aurangzeb, the style steadily declined.

One of the first buildings of any great importance erected by the Mughals is Humāyūn's tomb at Delhi. It is one of Akbar's earliest works, but was possibly designed and commenced by Humāyūn[3] himself and completed by Akbar, just as Akbar's tomb at Sikandarah was commenced by himself and completed by his son Jahāngīr, as we know it was the custom of Tartar and Mongolian princes to build their own tombs in their lifetime.[4]

Fergusson tells us in his History of Indian Architecture: "They built their sepulchres of such a character as to serve for places of enjoyment for themselves and their friends during their lifetime, and only when they could enjoy them no longer, they became the solemn resting places of their mortal remains. The usual process for the erection of these structures is for the king or noble, who intends to provide himself a tomb, to enclose a garden outside the city walls, generally with high crenellated walls, and with one or more splendid gateways; and in the centre of this he erects a square or octagonal building, crowned by a dome, and in the more splendid examples with smaller and dome-roofed apartments on four of the sides or angles, the other four being devoted to entrances. This building is generally situated on a lofty square terrace, from which radiate four broad alleys, often with marble paved canals ornamented with fountains; the angular spaces are planted with cypresses and other evergreens and fruit trees, making up one of those formal but beautiful gardens so characteristic of the east. During the lifetime of the founder, the central building is called a Barrah Durrie, or festal hall, and is used as a place of recreation and feasting by him and his friends.

"At his death its destination is changed—the founder's remains are interred beneath the central dome. Sometimes his favourite wife lies beside him; but more

[1] The large mosque at Pānipat in the Kābul Bāgh, erected by Bābar after his victory over the last Lodī king, still exists in a fair condition. The Jāmi Masjid at Sambhal is also ascribed to Bābar on the authority of an inscription. *A. S. R.*, XII, 25. [Ed.]

[2] *Memoirs*, translated by Erskine, p. 334.

[3] A garden existed on the spot, but the tomb was commenced after Humāyūn's death by his wife. *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (MS. in the Public library at Lahore) folio 26; *Āthār-uṣ-Ṣanādīd* (Nawal Kishore, 1895) part 1, 31. Akbar commenced his own tomb at Sikandarah, as we shall see further on. [Ed.]

[4] Fergusson. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 574.

generally his family and relations are buried beneath the collateral domes. When once used as a place of burial, its walls never again resound with festive mirth. The care of the building is handed over to priests and cadis, who gain a scanty subsistence by the sale of the fruits of the garden, or the alms of those who come to visit the last resting-place of their friend or master. Perfect silence takes the place of festivity and mirth. The beauty of the surrounding objects combines with the repose of the place to produce an effect as graceful as it is solemn and appropriate."[1]

Between Akbar's buildings and those of his son Jahāngīr will be found little generic difference, and where inscriptions and contemporaneous narratives are wanting, it is not easy to determine to which reign a work belongs. The absence of timber, and the sparing use of the arch mark both alike.[2] The buildings of Akbar and Jahāngīr are strongly influenced by Hindū forms, and are generally built in red sandstone and carved both on the exterior and interior with geometrical, floral and even animal forms. This is particularly the case with the Fatḥpūr Sīkrī buildings and the so-called Jahāngīr's Palace in the Agra Fort. Upon the dados of the Turkish Sulṭāna's house at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, we find lions, tigers, birds of paradise &c., beautifully sculptured. Jahāngīr did not build much, but he has left us a few fine specimens of his work, notably the tomb of I'timādu-d-daulah, his palace in the Agra Fort[3] and his father's tomb.

S͟hāh Jahān, on the other hand, was a great builder. "It would be difficult to point out" says Fergusson[4] "in the whole history of architecture any change so sudden as that which took place between the style of Akbar and that of his grandson Shah Jehan—nor any contrast so great as that between the manly vigour and exuberant originality of the first, as compared with the extreme but almost effeminate elegance of the second . . . ." Nowhere is the contrast between the two styles more strongly marked than in S͟hāh Jahān's palaces at Agra and Delhi and those of Akbar at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The former are built mainly of white marble inlaid with precious stones, whilst the Fatḥpūr Sīkrī buildings are almost exclusively built in red sandstone. Under S͟hāh Jahān, the Hindū element becomes less and less prominent, till it almost fades away altogether. The Hindū bracket and flat architrave over window and door apertures make way for the Muhammadan arch and geometrical traceries. Sculptured representations of animals as seen on the Fatḥpūr Sīkrī buildings give place to inlaid work in precious stones—agates, bloodstones, jasper and the like—as seen in the Tāj and I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb at Agra.

Compared with these buildings, those of Akbar, being in red sandstone, appear sombre, though they are not devoid of decoration. Some are richly adorned with frescoes, and, in some cases, with marble mosaics. It was, however, after the death of Akbar that coloured ornamentation became one of the leading characteristics of the Mug͟hal style.[5] Jahāngīr relied more upon colour for beautifying buildings than Akbar; and the splendid gate entrance to the garden round his father's tomb at Sikandarah (Plates XXXIX to LIII) is covered with marble mosaic.

A little later than the completion of Akbar's tomb, inlay work in precious stones was introduced. In I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb, erected about A.D. 1615—1625, we find

[1] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

[2] Keene, *Guide to Agra*, p. 129.

[3] It is not certain whether Akbar or Jahāngīr built the palace in Agra Fort, called the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. [Ed.]

[4] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 589—90.

[5] Cf. E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*.

both inlay in precious stones and mosaic work in coloured marbles, but in the Tāj and the new palace at Delhi, erected by Shāh Jahān between A.D. 1628 and 1668, the mosaic has been dispensed with, and inlay upon white marble has been largely used.

Besides frescoes, marble mosaics and inlaid ornamentation, the Mughals relied, to some extent, as did the Paṭhāns before them, on enamelled tiling for the enrichment of their buildings. It had been employed from an early period by the Persians upon their structures. Akbar used encaustic tiling at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and Jahāngīr also used it for covering the domed kiosks round the third storey of his father's mausoleum at Sikandarah, as we shall see later on. The manufacture of glazed tiles was, no doubt, introduced into India from Persia; it was not indigenous to the country, and the art has now almost died out, although it is carried on to some extent in Sind and elsewhere.

Another style of ornament extensively used by the Mughals upon their buildings is incised plaster work. It is used a great deal upon the Fatḥpūr Sīkrī buildings, and the Jahāngīrī Maḥall in the Agra Fort.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB.

LIKE Humāyūn, Akbar commenced to build his own tomb, but we learn from an inscription in the large south entrance gateway to the garden that it was completed by his son. Jahāngir, indeed, himself states in his memoirs that in the third year of his reign, A.D. 1608, he saw the works in progress and was so dissatisfied, that he caused them to be demolished and reconstructed at a cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees.[1] That the building of the tomb took many years and that the work went on very leisurely, is proved by the notice of it in the works of European travellers. William Finch, who visited the tomb in A.D. 1611 remarks that at that time it was "nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke".[2] Hawkins, also, who was there about the same time, seems to have been struck by the slow rate of progress. "It hath beene", he says, "this foureteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seaven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people: but thus much I will say, that one of our Worke-men will dispatch more than three of them." [3]

It may be that the changes in the original plans ordered by Jahāngir account in part for the unusual character of the mausoleum as we now see it. Fergusson says that "it is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu, or more correctly, Buddhist model".[4] However this may be, it is certainly unique of its kind in India and has no parallel among Persian or other Saracenic monuments. The mausoleum proper stands in the middle of a park-like plantation measuring some 3½ furlongs on each side. The compound is not perfectly square, as it measures a little more on the north and south sides than on the east and west (Plate I). It is enclosed by a high battlemented rubble masonry wall, 24′ high. The wall is built in two stages erected at different periods.[5] It has been restored from time to time and is partially coated with cement. The lower of the two stages, 12′ 9″ in height, was built, so tradition says, by Akbar, and was raised to its present height by Jahāngir, as it was found that the garden could be overlooked by passers-by mounted on elephants or camels.

The garden walls.

A plain horizontal string moulding runs between the two stages, and above it the original battlements are still to be seen. The old embrasures are filled in with masonry, and upon them the second stage, or Jahāngir's portion of the wall, has been built. The top of the wall has battlements and loopholes, and is largely built in brickwork. Behind the loopholes is a rampart. At the four corners of the garden wall are grim and quaint looking octagonal bastions, about 43′ 0″ in height, surmounted by square kiosks covered by domes (Plate VII), with the exception of that at the north-west angle of the garden.

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[1] A literal translation of the passage in the *Tuzuk* is given in Appendix I.

[2] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Hakluyt Soc., 1905. Vol. iv, page 75.

[3] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Hakluyt Soc., 1905. Vol. iii, page 51.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

[5] On the south side of the compound wall, on the east side of the main gateway, the two stages are seen for a length of about 100 yards. On the east, north, and west sides of the compound wall the old battlements are visible, surmounted by more recent ones: but the old battlements on these three sides are at a different level to those on the south side. [Ed.]

The bastions.

The walls of the towers are built with a decided batter and have loopholes on the top. The domes covering the kiosks are of cement on the outside and were finished off with stone finials, but these have long since perished. The plinths of the towers are built of masonry, and are in a dilapidated condition. Dividing the towers horizontally into two portions is a string moulding,[1] and another string occurs below the battlements on the top.

Towers between the bastions.

On the east, west, and north sides of the compound, between the big bastions at the corners, six small towers project on the outside of the wall. There are none on the south side now. They were probably removed when the wall was rebuilt some years ago.

There are two or three small gate entrances in the walls (Plate I), but they are blocked up. In the centre of the north, east, and west walls is a very large and high blind gateway, of which we shall speak later on.

On the outside of the garden walls were large masonry tanks, the remains of which are still traceable in places.[2]

The only entrance to the garden is on the south side (see block plan, Plate I and also Plate XL) and this, together with the blind gates on the east, west and north walls, will be described later on.

On the east and west side of the south gateway are halls with pillars. That on the east measures 76′ 0″ × 33′ 0″, and that on the west measures 117′ 3″ × 38′ 0″. Both are built in red sandstone.

The elephant stable.

Adjoining the hall on the west side of the gate[3] is a domed building 150′ × 50′, divided into sixteen[4] bays by rough masonry piers. The domes are of brick, capped with ventilators, but there is nothing of importance about the building, which in all likelihood was built as an elephant stable. On the east side is an external staircase leading to the roof. The building is unused, and the entrance to it has been bricked up.

In the south-east corner of the garden is a modern bungalow built on a raised plinth, covered with a thatched roof, and almost opposite it, on the south-west side of the compound, was another house built partly of hollow brickwork, the débris of which now strews the platform on which it stood.

The terraces.

Akbar's tomb stands in the centre of the garden, and is approached by four stone terraces or causeways leading from the gateways which project from the middle of the walls round the sides of the garden. The terraces are about 75′ 0″ wide, and are raised some distance above the level of the garden, from which they are reached by means of flights of stone steps. At the ends, and in the centre, the terraces are considerably broadened out to make way for large masonry water tanks containing fountains. These are shown on the block plan on Plate I.

The pavement of the terraces on the north, east and west sides of the tomb is in a dilapidated condition.[5] This is more particularly the case with the northern terrace

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[1] There is no string moulding on the south-east bastion except the one below the battlements.

[2] The only visible remains of such a tank are outside the west wall of the compound. There is a huge tank in ruins on the east side, about ½ mile away. It is said that this tank was built by a Hindū Minister of Jahāngir. It is called Gurū-kā-Tāl (the tank of the spiritual minister). [Ed.]

[3] Excavation on the outside of the wall to the east of the gate has revealed a terrace, on which originally stood a hall similar in design to that on the other side of the wall, as is proved by the various brackets, lintels and piers which have been unearthed. No doubt there was another hall corresponding to it on the east side. [Ed.]

[4] Only fourteen bays exist. [Ed.]

[5] The causeway to the west of the tomb has since been put in a thorough state of repair. [Ed.]

where the pavement has been torn up and taken away. The approach to the tomb from the southern gate is in good condition, as it has been repaired by Government.

The tanks

The sides of the tanks in the middle and at the ends of the terraces are enclosed by low walls, and the outer faces are divided up by stiles and muntins into oblong spaces, which are filled in with stone panels beautifully carved with floral and geometrical designs.[1] The rain water from the tomb and the surrounding platform is drained into these tanks.

The terraces on the north, east and west sides of the tomb have been cut into by modern roads, which were probably made for the convenience of visitors when Agra was the seat of the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The grounds are very beautiful in appearance, and were frequented about that time even more than they are now by the inhabitants of Agra.

The tomb. Ground floor.

The block plan of the tomb may be seen from Plate I, whilst a larger plan of it is given on Plate II. The tomb measures 339′ 0″ square, and stands on a stone platform 496′ 3″ × 496′ 10″, on the north-east and north-west corners of which are small staircases leading down to the garden.

The tomb is of a pyramidal form (Plate VIII) and is five storeys high, each storey being smaller than that below it. In the centre of the ground floor is a small chamber, in which is a white marble sepulchre containing the remains of the great Akbar, and five storeys above it is the cenotaph (Plate XI). Akbar's sarcophagus which stands on a raised plinth, 13′ 0″ × 8′ 0″, is perfectly plain with the exception of a few mouldings. Tradition says that the Emperor's arms, clothes and books were placed round the tomb, but the Jāṭs are credited with having taken them off in the last century to Bhartpur, where, as Keene says, "It is possible that some relics of Akbar still survive in oblivion or concealment." A few years ago Lord Northbrook provided a magnificent brocaded covering for the sepulchre, but this has been stolen. The mortuary chamber measures nearly 40′ 0″ square, and is covered by a dome carried on arched pendentives some 60′ 7″ in height (see section Plate IX). The chamber is perfectly plain now, and is paved with stone. The walls are whitewashed, but in all likelihood they, and the soffit of the dome, were beautified with paintings of which Akbar was so fond. Beneath the whitewash on the lower portion of the walls traces of painted dados were found by the writer.

The mortuary chamber.

The chamber is very dimly lit by four small window openings extending upward from the walls of the dome to the outside of the third floor (Plate IX). It is below the level of the main part of the building, and one descends into it along a dark narrow inclined passage, 105′ 0″ in length by 6′ 0″ in width. The gallery is vaulted over, and the walls appear to have been finished off in polished stucco.

The vestibule, ground floor, and archways.

The entrance to the passage is through a splendid vestibule of cruciform shape on the south side of the building. In front of the vestibule is a spacious arched porch, adorned with marble mosaic, built immediately in the centre of the south façade and corresponding with three others on the north, east and west fronts (Plates VIII and XXVI).

The jambs of the archways extend right down to the ground in an unbroken line. Surrounding them is an architrave composed of a bold moulding in black marble, not unlike that known to architects as the lamb's tongue, an ogee in red stone, and a

[1] This remark is only true in the case of the central tanks on the west and east terraces. [Ed.]

tooth moulding in white marble (see Plate XXVIII). The sides and soffit of the arch are enriched with geometrical mosaics in marble. The faces of the abutments are ornamented with mosaic panels, and the parapet is carved with Maltese crosses. The surface of the masonry between the underside of the parapet and the crown of the central archway is ornamented, like the abutments, with mosaic panels, seven in number. An elevation of the west arch to a small scale is given in Plate XXVII, figure 2, and details of the mosaic panels are given in Plates XXVIII, XXIX and XXX.

Plate XXVIII shows the two lowest panels on each side of the large archway in the centre of the entrance, which are alike in design. The field of each panel is of red sandstone, and the inlaid ornamentation upon it is of white marble. The spandrels over the arch in the upper panel are of white marble inlaid with black slate.

Plate XXIX shows the two middle and the two topmost panels on each side of the archway. Fig. 1 shows the central, and Fig. 2 the upper panels. With the exception of the latter, all the panels are in red sandstone, the inlaid ornamentation being in white marble. The patterns are formed chiefly of interlaced polygonal figures, stars and hexagons. Four of the panels are arched at the top and the spandrels are of white marble inlaid with foliated scrolls in black slate. The other panels are oblong in shape. Two of them are of buff coloured stone inlaid with designs in black slate (Plate XXIX, Fig. 1).

The seven panels along the top of the arched porches are shown on Plates XXVI and XXVII, and details of them are given on Plate XXX, Figs. 1 and 2. Some of the panels are in red sandstone and the geometrical ornamentation upon them in white marble, whilst others are in buff coloured stone inlaid with geometrical figures in black marble.

The southern vestibule is covered with an elaborately groined ceiling in stucco, and is richly painted with floral and other designs (Plates XXXVI, XXXVII and XXXVIII). The lower portion of the walls is decorated with geometrical dadoes. The groined vaulting, covering the vestibule, springs from a bold cornice of concave section, inscribed with Arabic texts * in gold upon a rich blue ground.

The central portion of the vestibule is covered by a flat dome, in the centre of which is an enriched medallion in stucco, chiselled with exquisite arabesque scrolls in low relief (Plate XXXVII). The ground is a rich blue and the ornamentation on it is gilded. Enclosing the medallion is a floral border in red.

The sides of the vestibule are vaulted over and the soffits of the vaults are enriched with coloured ornament, a detail of which is shown on Plate XXXVI. On the east and west sides of the chamber are arched passages leading to the royal burial chambers. The walls were at one time painted with floral panels, but the patterns have suffered so much from the ravages of time that it is difficult to make out what they were like. One of the panels, restored by the writer, is shown on Plate XXXVIII.

The pavilions.

In the sides of the porches are staircases leading to white marble pavilions above, three floors up (Plates XXVI and XXVII). The pavilions are oblong in shape and are covered by a hipped roof carried on breastsummers supported on columns. The ridge of the roof is carved with bold water-leaves, and is crowned by three moulded and gilded finials. The parapet is delicately carved with a foliated pattern. Below it, bold eaves project, and protect the open sides of the pavilions from sun and

* The whole of Chapter LXVII of the Qurán, followed by verse 56 of Chapter XXXIII and the last three verses of Chapter XXXVII. [Ed.]

rain. A detail of the carving upon the parapet is given in Plate XXVII, Fig. 7. Plans of the pavilions are given in Plates V and VI. The upper parts of the backs of the porches are built in two terraces connected by staircases (see Plate XXVII, Fig. 2). The lower terrace is 14′ 0″ in height and projects some 12′ 0″ in advance of the upper, which is 11′ 6″ high. Both terraces are open to the sky, but the sides are protected by *jālī* balustrades carried on stone brackets (Plate XXVII, Fig. 5).

The cloisters. Ground floor.

Connecting the four arches and enclosing the four sides of the mortuary chamber within, are spacious cloisters (Plate II). At each angle of the building is a large octagonal tower surmounted by an open cupola. The cloisters are divided up into numerous bays, about 22 feet square, by massive piers. They are covered by domed roofs, and at the backs are vaulted recesses some 9′ × 16′. Along the front are plain arches, 19′ 0″ in width and 10′ 6″ in depth (Plate XXXII). "These spacious cloisters would afford accommodation for a large army; the regiment of English Dragoons which was quartered in them during the siege of Agra under Lord Lake, occupied but a small portion."[1] On the east side of the southern porch one, and, on the west side, two of the cloister bays are screened off to form burial chambers. The screens are of white marble (Plate XXXII).

The burial chambers.

The rear walls of the burial chambers bear traces of richly coloured and polished dadoes, an example of which is given in Plate XXXIII. The field in the centre is of deep orange edged with white, enclosed by a rich chocolate coloured border. The floors of the chambers are of marble mosaic. The patterns are composed of eight pointed stars and crosses of *abri* and Khattū stone.

Grave of Ārām Bānū.

Grave of Shukru-n-nisā.

The burial chamber on the east side of the southern vestibule contains two graves. The larger of the two is that of Ārām Bānū, one of Akbar's daughters, and the other is that of a daughter of Jahāngīr. Ārām Bānū's tomb is inscribed in Persian characters with verses from the Qurān, and in design resembles that of Shukru-n-nisā, another of Akbar's daughters, buried in the chamber on the west side of the southern vestibule and numbered 2 on the ground floor plan, Plate II. Besides Shukru-n-nisā's grave there are two others in the chamber, one of Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Shāh 'Ālam, of the Delhi family, and the other of his wife. In the next chamber, numbered 3 on the plan (Plate II), is a woman's tomb, supposed to be that of Zebu-n-nisā, daughter of Aurangzeb.[2] In the north wall of the chamber in a niche is inserted a marble slab, 2′ 3″ × 2′ 9″, carved with the ninety-nine names of Allāh.

A plan and front elevation of the west side of Shukru-n-nisā's tomb is given on Plate XXXIV, and a view of the south end of the tomb on Plate XXXV. The tomb, of white marble, is most beautifully carved with rich arabesque tracery and texts from the Qurān. A plan looking down on the tomb, showing the carving upon it, is given on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1. In the centre of the slab covering the top of the tomb is the *takhti* or tablet, which is generally carved upon the tombs of Muhammadan women. At each end of the tablet are panels sculptured with stars and floral wreaths surrounded by scrolls looped together with rosettes. The covering slab projects 2½″ in advance of the body of the sarcophagus and the sides are carved in honeycomb fashion (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2). The body of the sarcophagus stands upon an imposing plinth, 1′ 1¾″ in height, built in three tiers. The first tier is a perfectly plain one and is built in the form of a step, whilst the second and third are cyma moulded and beautifully

[1] Elliot and Roberts, *Views in India and China*, p. 56.

[2] This is doubtful. There is a tomb in Nawān Kot near Lahore said to belong to this lady. [Ed.]

carved with floral ornamentation. A plan showing the plinth is given in Plate XXXIV. Casts of this tomb were prepared by the writer and sent to the South Kensington Museum.

In all likelihood it was originally intended to enclose all the cloister bays on the ground floor and convert them into burial places for members of the royal family, just as at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī the verandahs round Islām Khān's tomb were cut off and divided up by screens into burial chambers for his descendants. In the third bay, on the east side of the south porch, is a deep well, and in the fourth bay is a grave.

The first floor.

In the sides of the porches in the centre of the façades are steep narrow stone staircases leading to the first floor, a plan of which is given on Plate III. It measures 182′ 7″ square to the outside of the corridors. Beyond and surrounding the corridors is a spacious terrace some 81′ 0″ wide, built over the cloisters on the ground floor. On the plan, the upper portion of the porches in the centre of the four sides of the tomb is shown, as well as the tops of the staircases ascending from the ground floor. The octagonal pavilions, 17′ 0″ in diameter, surmounting the towers upon the angles of the building, are also seen on the plan, as well as the upper part of the mortuary chamber in the centre of the tomb.

The façades. First floor.

The façades measure 165′ 0″ in length exclusive of the corridors. The rear wall of the corridor is divided by stone piers into seventy-two recesses, 4′ 0″ wide and 3′ 0″ deep, filled in, on the outside, with cusped arches carved with bosses in the spandrels. From the centre of each pier a pilaster projects, and opposite, on the outer side of the corridor, are columns. The spaces between the columns are filled in with stone arches (Plate XIX). In all, there are twenty-three bays in each façade, and these are arranged in groups, and a broken effect is obtained by some projecting in advance of others. In the centre of the façade, three bays are grouped together, and project 8′ 3″ in advance of the main face of the corridor. On each side of this group are ten bays, and the central and end ones break forward the same distance from the face of the corridor as those in the centre of the façade. Those which break forward, are crowned by kiosks, the roofs of which may be seen from the second floor plan, which is given on Plate IV.

In some instances, the kiosks on the second floor are crowned with pyramidal tops and in others by domes, carried on groined and arched pendentives. Diagrams showing the construction of the domes are given on Plate XIX. They are built of red sandstone veneered on the outside with white marble and surmounted by slender finials, overlaid in some instances with gilt. The bases of the domes are ornamented on the exterior with bands of carving and a moulded string-course (Plate XIX). The projecting eaves below are supported on angle brackets (Plate XIX and Plate XXV) springing from the caps of the columns below.

The brackets, caps and bases are elaborately moulded and carved. The caps are of the cushion type, and are not unlike some of those in Akbar's buildings at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, erected between A. D. 1569—1571.

The second floor.

The second floor plan measures some 87′ 0″ square, or, including the corridor surrounding it, 109′ 8″. Beyond and encompassing the corridor is a platform measuring 186′ 2″ each way, built over the first floor (see section, Plate IX). Surrounding the sides of the second storey are thirty-seven small square apartments, 5′ 6″ in width. At the south-east and south-west angles are staircases leading to the third floor (Plate

V). In each of the four corners of the second floor is a small dark room about 9′ square.

The openings on the second floor to the sloping galleries before mentioned, admitting light to the mortuary chamber on the ground floor, are shown on the plan. Around the four sides of the storey is an open verandah or corridor treated architecturally, very much like that on the floor beneath.

On the plan, the tops of the staircases ascending from the floor below are seen, as well as the upper portion of the porches in the centre of the sides of the tomb, and the domes covering the towers upon the angles of the building.

The third floor.

Plate V shows the plan of the third floor. It measures about 71 feet square or 88′ 3″, including the verandah surrounding the four sides. In the south-east and south-west angles are narrow staircases of white marble leading to the fourth floor. Midway between the two staircases on the south side is a doorway[1] leading to a low chamber, crowded with massive square piers supporting arches. The chamber is only 6′ 0″ in height. A section through it is given on Plate IX. In the centre of the chamber and immediately below the marble cenotaph on the floor above, is a second false tomb. On the outside of the chamber is a verandah, and surrounding it is a gallery, shown on the section through the tomb (Plate IX). Rising from the centre and angles of the gallery are square kiosks crowned by domes.

The topmost floor.

The fourth or topmost floor is illustrated on Plate VI. It consists of a court 70 feet square, open to the sky, surrounded by a cloister measuring 87′ 7″ each way (outside dimensions), built over the verandah round the third floor. The cloister is built of white marble and is divided into forty bays, about 9′ 0″wide, by slender piers of cruciform shape, supporting arches. It is enclosed on the outside by white marble trellis-work screens of beautiful geometrical patterns (Plates VIII, X, XII, XIII and XIV). The floor of the cloister is tesselated in marble.

Through twelve square apertures, purposely left in the screens, a splendid view of the country round the tomb is obtained. From those on the west side the domes of Maryam's tomb, and the tower of the adjacent mission church are seen; whilst away to the south-west, on a clear day, the grand gateway known as Buland Darwāza, at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, may be seen. On the north, is the silvery Jumna bordered by I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb, the Chīnī-kā-Rauza, Rām Bāgh and other historical places; and on the south-east, a panoramic view of Agra is obtained with the towers of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches in the Civil lines, the fort of Agra and "the Motī Masjid rearing its glittering cupolas on high, and beyond, closing its magnificent perspective, the snow-white dome and slender minarets of the Tāj Maḥall catching the golden light of a cloudless sky."

The topmost chamber.

Fergusson held the opinion that the topmost chamber was not intended to be left open to the sky. In speaking of the resemblance between Akbar's tomb and the old Buddhist *vihāras* he remarks:[2] "If the tomb had been crowned by a domical chamber over the tombstone, the likeness would have been so great that no one could mistake it, and my conviction is, that such a chamber was part of the original design[3]. . . . . As the monument now stands, the paramid has a truncated and unmeaning aspect. The total height of the building now is a little more than 100 feet to the top of the

[1] It would be more correct to describe this doorway as a window. [Ed.]

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 585.

[3] Jahāngir states in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* that, when he first visited the building, 'the masons had made it one-storeyed after their own manner.' Vide appendix I. [Ed.]

angle pavilions; and a central dome 30 or 40 feet higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail."

After a very careful examination of the upper floor the writer has come to the same conclusion. If the tomb had been crowned by a dome it would probably have occupied the position shown in dotted lines on the section (Plate IX). The raised platform in the centre of the floor (Plate XI) measures 38' 3" across and looks, as Fergusson remarks, as if designed to support a chamber crowned by a light dome. The sides of this chamber would have probably been composed of trellis-screens set between piers, after the style of those forming the sides of the room surmounting I'timāu-d-daulah's tomb, which was built a little later than Akbar's tomb.[1] The platform is supported on massive piers and arches (see Section, Plate IX), which would have been quite strong enough to support a light dome. Finch, who saw the tomb about A.D. 1611, says that it was "to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure sheet-Gold, richly inwrought."[2] He also tells us that at his last sight of this monument there was "a rich Tent, with a Semaine over the Tombe"; and the Marble rings for such an awning appear still as an integral portion of the cornices of the surrounding cloisters.[3] If not put to this purpose they probably held poles for fastening flags to during gala days and festivals, the awning being stretched across beneath the cornice and attached to iron rings placed over the apex of the arches enclosing the tops of the cloisters. A few of the iron rings are still extant, and it is highly probable they were used for securing the sides of a brocade stretched across the tombstone or cenotaph.

The cloisters of the upper chamber.

The cloisters surrounding the upper chamber (Plate X) are of white marble, even to the ceilings over the various bays into which the cloisters are divided. These ceilings are simply formed, after a style which has been employed in India from time immemorial. Over the pillars between the bays lintels are placed, and across each angle of the square thus formed a triangular slab is laid and a smaller square formed. Across each angle of this square other triangular slabs are laid and a third square is formed, which is closed by a single slab beautifully carved in the centre with a rich boss. A plan showing the construction of the cloister ceilings is given in Fig. 3, Plate X, and a section through it is given in Fig. 2.

The piers, screens and ceilings of the cloisters as well as the architraves, bear unmistakeable traces of having been enriched with ornamental patterns in gold and colours.

Along the sides of the cloister facing the cenotaph a deep dripstone is carried on lintels supported by piers and moulded brackets. On the outside, the lintels are panelled and inscribed with 36 distiches which make no mention of the Prophet, thus harmonizing with Akbar's religious views, while at the same time completely refuting the story of Akbar's conversion on his deathbed.[4]

The cloisters are open on the sides facing the cenotaph (Plate XI), but they are closed, as mentioned before, on the outside by forty-four marble screens. In each screen are twelve panels, and each is pierced out of a separate piece of marble. The

[1] E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra.*
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 76.
[3] Keene's *Guide to Agra*, p. 44.
[4] Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 76. These distiches were not written by Akbar. [Ed.]

patterns, which are all geometrical, are varied in design. Details of them are shown on Plates XII, XIII and XIV. Each panel, as may be seen from the illustrations, is set in a plain chamfered frame, 3½" in thickness. The spandrels of the arches over the screens are carved with paterae, inscribed in many instances with the name of Allāh surrounded by a chaplet of lotus leaves carved in low relief. A projecting dripstone protects the sides of the cloisters from rain, and above it is a frieze divided into two portions by a string moulding, fixed into which are the circular rings spoken of before, which may have been used for stanchions supporting a canopy over the top of the tomb. The frieze above the string moulding is beautifully carved (see Plate X). Surmounting each of the four outer and upper angles of the cloisters is a slender square marble kiosk, crowned by a dome of red sandstone veneered on the exterior with white marble. On the top of the dome is a moulded finial overlaid with gilt. The cloisters are flat above, and the roof is of cement.

The floor of the uppermost chamber is covered with square marble slabs laid chequer-wise, and rising from the centre of it is the platform upon which Akbar's cenotaph rests. The sides of the platform are panelled with different coloured marbles, and the top, sufficiently bevelled to throw off the rain water, is paved in keeping with the floor of the chamber. The marbles used are black, white, and one known in India as *abri*, which comes from Jaisalmer. It is a mottled buff coloured marble, the ground of which is a dark grey.

Akbar's cenotaph.

Akbar's cenotaph stands in the middle of the platform (Plate VI). It is of white marble and measures some 6' 10" in length by 2' 7" in width, exclusive of the plinth, and 3' 3" in height. It is hewn out of a single block of marble and is superbly carved. The two oblong sides and the top are adorned with the ninety-nine titles of the Creator in alto-relievo, set in delicate Arabic tracery (Plates XI and XV). The words "Allāhu Akbar Jalla Jalāluhu" are inscribed on the head and foot, set in panels surrounded by most beautiful and delicate floral ornamentation (Plates XVI and XVII). The carving, which is most exquisitely done, is in very low relief, and savours of Chinese workmanship. Amongst other flowers and plants portrayed one recognizes the lily, the almond and the dhalia, all of which are found carved or painted upon Akbar's palace at Fathpūr Sīkrī. In the left-hand corner of each of the panels, cloud-forms carved after a most distinctive Chinese type are noticeable. Similar cloud-forms are met with upon the dado panels in the Turkish Sulṭānah's house at Fathpūr Sīkrī, and it is generally supposed that they were executed by Chinese workmen.[1] Small butterflies and insects flitting from flower to flower are carved upon the panels. Upon the top of the cenotaph a *qalam-dān* or pen box is sculptured, signifying that the tomb is a man's, in distinction from a woman's, which is generally provided with the *takhti* or slate. The plan of the *qalam-dān* is seen on Plate XV. It is splendidly chiselled with arabesque patterns and is surrounded by a field of foliated and inscribed panels, also seen on the plan. The plinth of the cenotaph is sculptured with elegant scrolls.

At the north end or the head of the cenotaph is a very finely carved pedestal, 2' 9" in height, in two pieces of white marble, upon the top of which, according to tradition, the famous Koh-i-nūr diamond was placed (Plate XVIII). The pedestal is octagonal with a square base and measures 1' 2¾" across. It is crowned by an octagonal abacus (Plate XVIII, Fig. 2), which is scooped out on the top. The necking of

[1] Similar cloud-forms and other motifs from Chinese art are frequently met with in Persian art. [Ed.]

the cap is chiselled with a chaplet of leaves which resemble—though in a crude form—the acanthus. The plinth is also ornamented with leaves. The carving upon the sides of the pedestal is of a Saracenic character, and is not unlike that upon the "throne column" in the Dīwān-i-khāṣṣ at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The legend about the Koh-i-nūr is of course apocryphal; the pedestal was manifestly designed to hold the *chirāgh* lighted at nights, according to Muhammadan custom, in honour of the dead and to mark the sanctity of the place.

CHAPTER III.

GATEWAYS.

THE compound, in which the tomb of Akbar stands, is furnished with four gateways, one in the centre of each surrounding wall (Plate I).

The south gateway.

Three of the gateways are closed, but the fourth, that on the south side of the enclosure—is open, and through it one passes to the tomb (Plate XL). In speaking of this gateway, Elliot says: "The outer entrance is always in keeping with the principal building, arresting the gaze of the visitor, who can scarcely imagine that anything more beautiful is to be seen beyond. The gate at Sikandarah, with its spacious arched Gothic hall and lofty marble minarets, would in itself be considered worthy to commemorate the deeds of the most renowned warrior of the world; and we linger at the portal, notwithstanding the temptation to hurry onwards to the spot, where the mighty Akbar lies entombed."[1]

The gateway is built in two storeys, and measures 137′ 5″ across from east to west, and 99′ 10″ from north to south. Its height is 75′ 0″. In front of it is a stone platform 86′ 9″ × 241′ 7″. The modern roadway leading up to the gateway passes over it from east to west.[2] In the middle of the south side is a very small arched gate, 8′ 7″ wide, with steps leading down from it. Judging from the remains of *muttakā* holes in the flag stones, the whole platform was railed in originally. The whole surface of the exterior walls of the gateway is covered with marble mosaic (Plate XXXIX).

The north and south façades.

In the centre of the north and south façades is a high archway, 61′ 0″ in height and 44′ 3″ in width, with a small doorway beneath. Over this is an arched opening, 13′ 6″ across and 18′ 0″ from sill to apex. The reveals of the great central archway and door beneath are splayed and enriched with stone panels edged with white marble. The spandrels are beautified with rich arabesque scrolls in marble mosaic. The doorway is flat headed, and the tympanum is decorated with scrolls and flowers in white marble inlaid on red sandstone (Plates XL and XLI). Above the spandrels of the arch on the north side[3] are four inscribed panels in white marble, surmounted by an open *jālī* balustrade in five panels, protecting the lower portion of the opening above the entrance. The face of the rear wall of the great archway is inlaid with a continuous scroll formed of leaves, flowers and rosettes in white marble on a red ground. The larger leaves are picked out in black marble (Plate XLII). Confining the whole is an inscription carved in white marble in raised Ṭughrā characters.[4] It was executed by one 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq, and the date is given as A.H. 1022 on the west side of the south doorway. The characters are only roughly indicated on the drawing (Plate XXXIX), as it was impossible to reproduce them accurately to a small scale.

The face of the gateway on each side of the great arched portal is interrupted by a deep recess divided into two storeys, enclosed at the top by arches. The spandrels of the arches are beautified with arabesque ornamentation in white marble,

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[1] Elliot, *Views of India and China*; V. II, p. 55.

[2] This has now been altered, and carriages can no longer drive through the gateway. [Ed.]

[3] The corresponding panels on the south side have been restored, and the inscription on them is lost.

[4] See appendix III.

inlaid upon a field of red sandstone (Plates XXXIX, XL, XLIX, L and LI). Plate XLIX shows the spandrel of the arch on the ground floor on the east side of the gate; Plate L shows the spandrel of the arch above it, and Plate LI shows the spandrel of the archway on the first floor, on the west side of the gate. The abutments on the sides of the recesses are ornamented with mosaic panels of rich geometrical design, enclosed between two broad chequered diaper borders made up of thousands of tiny pieces of various coloured marbles and stones, laid in horizontal courses about 2" wide, and varying in length from two to six inches. Examples of the borders are given on Plates XLIV and XLV. In almost every instance a small Maltese Cross, also composed of various coloured stones, is formed in the centre of each chequer. The borders are most bright and effective, yet not too gaudy. Each minute piece of stone or marble has been most carefully squared and set in its allotted place in cement, and the joints between each are so fine as to be hardly perceptible. They are shown on the illustrations in thin white lines.

Plate XLV shows one of the panels enclosed between the chequered borders, and Plates XLIII, XLVI, XLVII and XLVIII show others of the panels, but without the accompanying border. In most instances red and buff coloured stones have been employed as the ground for the inlaid ornament, but in some cases black and white marble have been used.

With one or two exceptions, the designs of the panels in mosaic are the same on the south side of the gate as on the north (Plates XL and XXXIX), and those on the east side of the great archway correspond with those on the west. An exception occurs in the topmost panels on the north and south sides of the gate (Plates XXXIX and XL and Plates XLIII and XLVIII). The relative positions of these panels may be seen from studying Plates XLIII and XLVIII along with Plates XXXIX and XL.

All the patterns employed in ornamenting the façades are of geometrical form, based principally on pentagons and hexagons, with the exception of the spandrels of the arches, which, as stated above, are adorned with flowing foliated designs. In four instances the ancient *svastika* also, has been introduced.

From time to time portions of the mosaic have decayed and fallen, and in replacing them, care has not always been exercised to match the colours of the stone and marble. This accounts to a great extent for the inharmonious patches found upon some of the panels, as exemplified in the lower panel of Plate XLVI, Fig. 2.

Some of the panels are closed at the top by arches (Plate XLV, Fig. 1, and Plate XLVI, Figs. 1 and 2), and are embellished with floral tracery. Plate XLV shows the panels nearest the pavement (see also the elevation, Plate XXXIX). They stand upon a red sandstone dado, inlaid with a diaper pattern formed of pointed stars and crosses in white marble. The plinth below the recess on the south façade is shown on Plate XLIII, Fig. 4, and the dado round the porch in the centre of the gateway in Fig. 3 on the same plate.

The sides of the great arched porch in the centre of the gate are of red sandstone inlaid with bold interlaced octagons in white marble (Plate XLIII, Fig. 5). The soffit of the arches has at some time been restored with cement coated red, with white paint stencilled on to represent marble where the border has disappeared, and upon it occurs the same pattern as on the sides of the arch, stencilled in white. The east and west façades of the south gate are very similar in design. Both have been restored, but

East and west façades.

unfortunately not quite in accordance with the original work. They are designed in harmony with the north and south elevations. They are divided into three bays, each two storeys high, and are ornamented with the same kind of chequer mosaic as upon the abutments on the north and south façades.

In each bay is a deep recess or alcove. The alcoves are closed at the top like those on the north and south façades by arches, some of which are of white marble inlaid with bold and handsome floral scrolls in black slate. Plate LII shows one of the spandrels over a recess on the ground floor on the west side of the gate. It is a particularly handsome one. In the centre is a quatre-foil enclosed by a heart-shaped figure, from which spiral interlacing scrolls emerge. They branch off into the corners of the spandrels in beautiful curls, each becoming smaller as it recedes from the centre. Each spiral grows gracefully out of the other, and the points of divergence are hidden by leaves. The alcoves are ceiled with beautifully groined stalactite roofs in stone, springing from slender arches and piers projecting a short distance from the face of the back wall. The soffits of the ceilings were painted with rich and delicate arabesque tracery in white. This ornamentation has much decayed and little of it remains to-day; but one can see what it was like from the existing remains. Several of the ceilings over the alcoves on the other façades have been repaired from time to time, but without the decoration, and are now quite devoid of any painting, though undoubtedly all were originally enriched with it.

The minarets.

Surmounting the four corners of the main entrance are circular minarets built in white marble.[1] Their tops are missing, and it is thought by some that they were designed so, but this is hardly probable. Keene[2] remarks in connection with them: "The two minarets on each side of the main entrance of the Sikandarah Bāgh have had their tops knocked off; the natives say by order of Lord Lake when he took Agra in 1803, because some European soldiers fell from the top of them. Another and more probable story is that the Jâts, when they sacked Agra, from mere wantonness turned their cannon upon these elegant turrets. These minarets seem to have been much in their present state long before Lord Lake's time. Mr. Hodges, R.A., who saw them in 1782-3, records that at that period the tops had disappeared."[3] Even setting aside the evidence of Mr. Hodges, there can be little doubt that the turrets were originally designed with cupolas, which in all probability were similar to those crowning the turrets on the corners of I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb at Agra.

The minarets were built in four tiers, and each tier diminishes in diameter from the base to the summit. They are constructed of red sandstone veneered on the outside with white marble, and rising, as they do, considerably above the roof of the gateway, can be seen for miles round.

The first tier or base is divided into panels. The second tier is plain and at the top and bottom are bands of plain ashlaring. The face of the masonry between the two bands is ornamented on the outside with perpendicular flutings, and here and there the walls are pierced with small gratings which light a spiral stone staircase within, leading from the bottom to the top of the minaret. Crowning this tier is a bold cornice with dentils, over which there used to be a balustrade, but this has long since disappeared. Rising above the cornice is the third tier of the minaret which, in

[1] These minarets were restored in 1905, by order of Lord Curzon. [Ed.]

[2] Keene, *Handbook to Agra*, p. 51.

[3] *Travels in India*, 1780—83, p. 121.

keeping with the fourth or uppermost tier, is built of perfectly plain marble ashlaring. Separating the third from the uppermost tier is a balcony carried on massive moulded brackets. Although now unprotected on the outside, the balcony was formerly enclosed by a balustrade, traces of which are still visible on the pavement.

The marble veneering on the outside of the minarets has decayed a good deal, and has been patched from time to time by new pieces of marble. The patches rather spoil the general effect of the ashlaring, which is worked in deep courses separated by narrow bond-stones or through-stones (Plates XXXIX and XL).

The minarets, as they now stand, measure various heights. That on the south-east corner is 53′ 9½″ high; that on the south-east corner 46′ 6″; that on the north-west 48′ 7″; whilst that on the north-east corner measures 57′ 10½″. They are reached from the ground by means of winding staircases built on the sides of a domed hall in the centre of the gateway, the plan of which is given on Plate I. The hall is octagonal in plan and measures 41′ 8″ in diameter, and is surrounded by galleries. In height it is 59′ 9″, measured from the floor to the underside of the crown of the dome. It is entered from the south through an archway, 16′ 4″ in thickness and 10′ 4″ in width, which corresponds with another archway on the north side of the hall leading to the gardens in which Akbar's tomb stands. On the east and west sides of the hall are deeply recessed niches, built on a raised platform, behind which is a suite of three rooms. The middle rooms measure 25′ 11″ × 19′ 1″, and are ceiled with barrel vaults, not unlike the ceiling of the great chamber in the Jāmi' Masjid at Jaunpur. At the north and south sides of these chambers are octagonal rooms, 19′ 2″ in diameter, on the sides of which are staircases leading to a series of rooms surrounding the upper part of the hall.

Above the doorways leading to the staircases are small arched openings, enclosed by square-headed architraves in red sandstone. A diagram of one of the openings is shown on plate LIII, Fig. 2, from which it may be seen that the spandrels over the arches are covered with floral scrolls in red sandstone inlaid with a cobalt coloured slate. The surface of the masonry above the archways is cut up by panels of red sandstone, in which are inserted slabs of black slate, framed by a narrow border of white marble. Over the arched openings are square-headed windows, above which is a frieze, enclosed by margins painted black and white, which runs round the sides of the hall and divides it horizontally into two storeys. The frieze is cut up into oblong panels with trefoilshaped ends, separated by quatre-foil compartments. The ground of the panels is painted French-grey, upon which are inscriptions in raised and gilded Persian characters. The quatre-foils between the inscribed panels are also painted French-grey. Both panels and quatre-foils are enclosed by raised margins painted black edged with white, which harmonise with those along the top and bottom of the frieze, the face of which, surrounding the panels, is ornamented with richly carved and gilded foliage in relief upon a terracotta coloured ground. A diagram showing the frieze is given on Plate LIII, Fig 1. When in its pristine state, it must have looked singularly beautiful. The colours have faded, and the gilding upon the inscription and carved foliage has decayed, but sufficient remains to enable us to see what they originally were. The soffit of the dome over the large hall is coated with whitewash, but probably it was originally decorated with paintings, like those in the ceiling over the south vestibule in Akbar's tomb (Plates XXXVI and XXXVII).

The roof of the gateway is made of cement, sufficiently sloped to carry off the water, which escapes through the gargoyle projecting beneath the parapet. The parapet is surmounted by a high cresting of red sandstone, ornamented on the front face with carved leaves and pieces of white marble. Below the parapet is a frieze band in stone, inlaid with borders of white marble.

The roof.

Surmounting the east and west sides of the great archway in the north and south façades of the gateway, are two pavilions of red sandstone covered by hipped roofs supported on eight octagonal columns, veneered on the outside with white marble, and crowned by pinnacles (Plate XL).

The pavilions are open at the sides and ends, and are divided into three bays by four octagonal columns surmounted by carved capitals supporting moulded brackets, which carry a wide drip-stone carved with a serrated fringe round the outer edge. This kind of treatment of drip-stones is most unusual, and the writer knows of no other instance in the United Provinces where it occurs. The open tops of the staircases on the north side of the gateway affording access to the roof, are sheltered by slight erections built of thin slabs of stone, supported between slender piers. The roofs are formed of flat slabs of stone covered with cement on the outside. The shelters are shown in the elevation of the south gateway given on Plate XXXIX, from which it may be seen that the side walls are perforated by gratings which afford light to the upper part of the staircase. Doorways lead from the shelters on to the roof of the gateway, from which a fine view of the surrounding country is obtained.

The north gateway.

The gateway on the north side of the grounds is in a ruinous condition. It is supposed to have been struck by lightning some years ago. It measures 137′ 6″ in length, by 47′ 0″ in width. The north wall is entirely built of red sandstone, and is cut up from top to bottom with arched panels, the spandrels of which are carved with exquisite floral designs. From the centre of the upper part of the façade a balcony projects, supported on three massive stone corbels. This breaks up the façade somewhat, and relieves its severity. On the east and west sides of the northern front are screens of red sandstone, divided by piers into seven bays. The screens were arched at the top, and the spaces between the arch and plinth—now filled in with rough rubble and brickwork—were occupied by panels of geometrical tracery. In the eastern screen was a small exit from the garden to the country beyond. From the photograph of the gateway (Plate LXIV) it may be seen that in the centre of the structure is an enormous receding porch, which was roofed by a half-dome, supported on honeycombed pendentives plastered on the underside. The porch, in keeping with the rest of the gateway, is built of brick, but the walls are veneered with red sandstone divided up into numerous small panels carved with vases, rosettes &c. Along the bottom is a high red sandstone dado inlaid with stars and octagons in white marble. The underside of the dome was painted with flowers enclosed within oval and other shaped borders. On each side of the great porch are large arched entrances leading into rooms on the east and west sides of the gateway. The walls are veneered with ashlar, and on the sides of the doorways are niches. The entrances are closed at the top by groined vaults built in radiating courses of brickwork finished on the underside in cement. On the outside, they were faced with redstone ashlar inlaid with ornamental designs in white marble. One or two of the panels still remain and are to be seen over the doorway on the south-east side of the gateway.

The plan of the northern gateway is totally different to those on the south, east and west sides of the grounds. On the ground floor is a suite of five rooms leading one into the other. Two of them are bigger than the others and measure 23′ 6″ by 23′ 9″. They are now much decayed, but originally they were ceiled with domes carried on arched pedentives, decorated with paintings. The walls of the rooms, as far as the springing of the domes, are lined with red sandstone. Between the doorways is a panelled dado surmounted by niches, over which is a frieze ornamented with star-shaped panels carved in relief. From the top of the frieze to the cornice the stone wainscot, lining the brick walls of the room, is divided by perpendicular piers into oblong compartments, which are sub-divided into numerous panels enclosed by raised margins. Many of the panels are sculptured with vases of flowers, long necked water bottles, rosettes &c. This kind of ornament came into fashion during Jahāngīr's reign, and it is seldom met with in the earlier Mughal architecture.

It is seldom one sees rooms so richly decorated in stone work as these, and it is a pity nothing was done in past years to preserve them. They have been used for years as sheds for the cattle employed about the grounds for pulling water from the wells.

Over the ground floor rooms are others, to which access is obtained by internal staircases in the sides of the gates. Over these again were other apartments which have long since fallen.

The east gateway.

Like the northern gateway, of which we have been speaking, that on the east side of the grounds is also partly in ruins.[1] In plan and design it is altogether different from the northern gateway, but it almost corresponds to the false gateway on the west side of the gardens. It measures 89′ 0″ × 47′ 0″, and stands on a raised platform, 211′ 0″ long by 101′ 2″ in breadth. Like the north gateway it is built of brick, veneered with marble and stone panelling. Some of the panels on the east or outer wall are beautifully sculptured with birds, vases and floral ornament. Representations of two of the panels are given on Plates LXII and LXIII. The panels are closed on the top by arches springing from moulded brackets projecting from the sides of the panels. The underside of the arches is carved with delicate cusps, issuing from the upturned trunks of elephants sustained on the tops of the brackets supporting the archways. The field of the panel shown on Plate LXII is sculptured with a vase moulded at the necking, and filled with conventional flowers, amongst which the lotus finds a place. The vase rests upon a stand, at the foot of which are carved two birds separated by a lotus bud. Beneath the stand is a bar, and below it a square compartment ornamented with floral scrolls enclosed within a scalloped border.

The surface of the panel shown on Plate LXIII is treated somewhat differently. In the centre is a vase, moulded at the base and necking. Issuing from the top of the vase are some flowers and stalks, resting on which—strange as it may seem—is a peacock with its tail outspread. Emerging from behind the bird's tail are two brackets which, after crossing one another in the form of a cradle, support two fairly well carved peacocks. They are placed face to face, and their long tails fall gracefully down on each side of the brackets, and help to fill the upper part of the panel. At the base of the vase are two cups with lids. Beneath the principal panel (Plate LXIII) is a small one, in the centre of which is a carved patera. Both panels are surrounded by

[1] This gateway is now being thoroughly conserved. [Ed.]

a raised frame, quirk-beaded on the edge, beyond which is a sunk margin ornamented with raised borders with cinque-foil ends. Enclosing this again are bands of geometrical ornamentation.

Nearly the whole of the eastern façade is of red sandstone, but a great deal of the west front is veneered with white marble. In the centre is a great porch covered by a half dome built in radiating courses of brickwork. On the north and south sides of the gateway were screens of geometrical tracery. That on the south side[1] has been replaced by a modern brick wall, and that on the north side has been blocked up with rubble masonry.[1] The gateway was connected with Akbar's tomb by a stone causeway, which has been cut through during recent years by a carriage road, which extends right round the grounds.

As the gateway is so closely allied in design to that on the west side, which is in a better state of preservation owing to its having been restored a few years ago at Government expense, it is unnecessary to give a fuller description of it.

The western gateway.

Like the north, south and east gates the western (Plates LIV to LXI) is connected to Akbar's tomb by a raised terrace some 75′ 0″ wide (see Plan, Plate I). Like those on the north and east sides of the gardens, the west causeway has been cut through by a modern roadway. Originally it was connected with the large platform, 210′ 4″ across, on which the gateway stands (Plate LVI). The gateway is 89′ 0″ long by 47′ 0″ in width and 79′ 2″ in height, measured from the base to the top of the parapet. In the centre of the east façade is a great porch, 39′ 3″ in width, receding inwards 23′ 10″ from the main face of the gateway. It is roofed by a half dome coffered on the soffit and supported on pendentives. The front of the porch is closed at the top by a four centred arch, the jambs of which continue in an unbroken line down to the plinth (Plate LVII). The rear wall of the porch is pierced by three large windows which light chambers behind. The central window is arched at the top, and the spandrels are sculptured with rich floral scrolls in stone and marble. It is much larger than those on the sides, which are rectangular in shape. They are surmounted by arched panels, on which the cypress is figured, the symbol of mourning in the Christian religion. All three openings are closed at the bottom by open *jāli* screens. The balustrade beneath the central opening is of white marble and those below the side apertures are of red sandstone.

Along the bottom of the porch walls is a handsome red sandstone dado carved with an intricate geometrical design composed of stars, lozenges, &c., and inlaid with white marble and black slate (Plate LX). Above the dado is a row of recesses.

From the top of the recesses upwards, the walls, as well as the soffit of the dome, are coated with stucco painted with small square and oblong panels in chocolate, red, buff and slate colours. Cut on the panels are stone-coloured slabs with rounded heads, which bear a resemblance to many tombstones found in European cemeteries (Plate LVII). The jambs of the great archway in front of the porch are of red sandstone, carved on the surface with a geometrical pattern formed of stars in hexagons (Plate LX), while the soffit of the arch is decorated with octagons and stars in white marble inlaid with *abri* or a kind of jasper stone.

The spandrels over the great arch are richly decorated with exquisite undulating floral scrolls carved in bold relief on a ground of black slate (Plate LVII). The

[1] Since restored. [Ed.]

scrolls are arranged in spirals and issue from floral wreaths in the centre of the spandrels. They are interlaced and fastened with knots of flowers and become smaller as they recede from the wreaths in the centre of the spandrels. Surmounting the spandrels is a long white marble panel adorned with a scroll of foliage in red sandstone in relief. Enclosing the entire archway in the centre of the porch is a rectangular border of geometrical tracery in red sandstone inlaid with white marble. The border springs from the top of a geometrically ornamented dado, also in red sandstone inlaid with white marble and black slate (Plate LX). Running up the outer side of the borders are two slender octagonal columns carved with zig-zag ornament in red sandstone and inlaid with white marble. They are surmounted by tall square open lanterns in stone, capped by conical roofs.

The central portion of the gate, comprising the porch with the great archway in front, measures 60′ 7″ across and projects 2′ 4″ in front of the wings at the sides. Externally the wings are divided into two storeys, crowned on the north and south ends by spacious open pavilions covered by hipped roofs, supported on four stone columns in red sandstone. On the outside, the sides of the roof are ornamented with borders in white marble, and the ridge is carved with bold leaves and crowned at the ends by two moulded finials. The parapet is battlemented and the embrasures are filled with screens of geometrical tracery. Plate LV shows the façades of the side wings of the gateway, which are cut up from top to bottom with numerous arched panels, enclosed by rectangular borders carved with geometrical designs. The walls are of red sandstone and the geometrical panels, with which they are adorned, are of the same coloured stone inlaid with white marble.

Plate LV is a drawing of the north façade of the north wing. The south wing is almost identical in design. From Plate LXI some idea may be obtained of the nature of the decoration upon the façade. The panels shown in Fig. 1 are from the east end of the ground floor, whilst those given in Fig. 2, are from the first floor at the same end of the building. The patterns of the geometrical tracery may be studied from the illustrations. They are composed chiefly of interlacing dodecagons, octagons and hexagons, radiating from star-shaped figures down the centre of the panel. The panels are arched at the top, and in all cases the spandrels over the arches are enriched with foliated scrolls in red stone on a ground of white marble.

The panels on the west side of the façade are simpler in design than those on the opposite angle of the building. They are composed of stars in red stone upon a ground of white marble. On the east side of the ground floor is a deep rectangular recess, ceiled with a coffered semi-dome carried on arched pendentives, the construction of which is explained by a plan given in Fig. 3, Plate LV.

On the west side of the recess in the north façade is a flat headed doorway affording access to a staircase leading to suites of rooms in the upper part of the gateway. The staircase is lit by windows filled with open geometrical tracery.

Although the façade is decorated so much, it has a quiet and dignified appearance. The western façade is designed in unison with the north and south fronts. A drawing of it is given on Plate LIV, and a photograph of the central portion is given on Plate LIX. The design is even more ornate than that of the north façade. It is divided into two storeys by a flat string moulding. In the ground floor are three deep rectangular apses, ceiled like those in the north, south and east elevations. They are

enclosed on the outside by arches with plain square-headed architraves. The central one is bigger than those at the sides, measuring 19′ 10″ in length by 10′ 6″ in width, while the side ones measure 10′ 5″ × 10′ 6″. The soffits and reveals of the central archway are embellished with geometrical patterns in red sandstone inlaid with white marble. The outer edge of the reveal of the archway is carved with a cable moulding. The spandrels of the arch are adorned with leaf scrolls in white marble upon a black slate background. The inner walls of the apses are panelled and penetrated by various shaped niches. The walls and the domed ceilings have been painted with flowers, vases, goblets &c., in white, but a great deal of the decoration has succumbed to the ravages of time.

On the west façade of the gate, in the first storey, placed immediately over the apses on the ground floor, are three large arched window openings filled with exquisite pierced stone screens. The screens are divided by plain mullions and transomes. In the lower screens are small oblong openings with square heads. Between the windows on the first storey, as well as the arched openings on the ground floor, are rectangular panels divided into two parts by a band of marble ornamented with hexagons and lozenges in red stone. Both the upper and lower compartments are arched on the top and are embellished with rich geometrical patterns in white marble and red sandstone of similar design to those found on the panels in the north face, which are shown on Plate LXI. The entire surface of the walls, as may be seen from Plate LIV, with the exception of the panels, is of red sandstone most minutely chiselled with geometrical ornament composed chiefly of octagons studded with tiny rosettes.

Crowning the façade is a parapet of similar design to that round the north and south fronts, previously described.

So far we have confined our remarks to the exterior of the gate, but a few words should be devoted to the internal treatment of the structure. There are no rooms on the ground floor, but on the first floor are three large and three small chambers. In some of the rooms are dadoes of white marble, inlaid with floral borders in different coloured stones and black slate. The stones employed are *abrī* and *khatwa*. The work is well done, but although the stones are not very valuable, they have been coveted by wanton people, who, in their eagerness to remove them, have irreparably damaged them.

The room in the centre of the first floor is larger than the others. It has a pavement composed of stars and lozenges in red and yellow sandstones. The chambers are ceiled by brick groined domes coated with plaster. In many cases the marble dadoes have been removed and the spaces filled with ordinary brickwork, in order to support the superstructure. In some cases the dadoes were of red stone with narrow borders of white marble.

On the second floor are three low roofed rooms. In front of those on the north and south and west sides are pretty balconies supported on moulded brackets projecting from the face of the wall.

On the third or topmost floor there are also three rooms, and in front of them, facing the west, is an open verandah.

On the south side of the gate, unlike the north, is a curtain screen, 58′ 0″ in length (Plate LVIII), pierced with seven archways filled in with geometrical tracery. It connects the gate with the battlemented walls enclosing the grounds. At the back

of the gate is an open court 63' 10" wide, enclosed by walls breaking forward from the main face of the park wall (Plate LVIII). In this respect the west gate differs from those on the north, south and east sides of the grounds. There is no open court behind them and they are built almost flush with the park walls. Like the eastern gate, the western is built of brickwork veneered with stone. The roofs of the terraces at the back of the gate are flat and floated in cement, and are railed in along the outer side with stone trellises. The staircases on the north and south sides leading from the ground to the top of the gate are of stone, as are the jambs, sills and lintels of the doorways.

For what purpose the gates were used it is hardly possible to say. They were built no doubt to balance that on the south side of the grounds. They may have been used by attendants and visitors, but it is not improbable that the west Propylon was used as a Masjid in which visitors could worship.

APPENDIX I.

Jahāngīr's account of Akbar's Tomb.

'On Monday, the 17th Rajab, 1017, (17th October 1608), I went on foot on a pilgrimage to the mausoleum of his late Majesty. If possible, I would walk on my head and (sweep the road) with my eyebrows; for my august father walked, in order to obtain an heir, *viz.* me, on foot from Fatḥpūr to Ajmer, a distance of 120 *kos*, in order to pray at the tomb of Khwājah Mu'īn-uddīn-i-Sijizī-i-Chishtī. Hence, if I walk to my father's tomb, I shall after all not have done much. When I entered, I saw no building over the tomb such as I would approve of; for I had expected to see an edifice which travellers would pronounce to be unrivalled in the world. But whilst the building was being erected, Prince Khusrau rebelled, and I was obliged to go to Lâhor. The architects in the meantime went on building after their taste. Afterwards, various sums had to be expended, till the whole amount estimated for had been spent. They had been three or four years at work, when I ordered clever architects, who were assisted by experienced people, to build up several parts as I had before directed. Gradually a noble edifice arose, and a splendid garden was laid out round about the mausoleum. Gates of great height, with minarets of polished *(pardākhtah)* white marble were also made. In all, 15 lacs of Rupees, i.e. 50,000 tomâns as current in Persia, or 45 lacs Khānīs, as current in Tūrān, were spent on the building. People called the building after me'.[1]

APPENDIX II.

Arām Banū and Shukru-n-nisā as described by the Emperor Jahāngīr.

"After the birth of Dânyâl a daughter was born of Bībī Daulat-i-Shād, whom they named Shukru-n-nisā Begam. She was brought up by my illustrious father and grew up very beautiful. Kindness and compassion for the common people were innate in her.

From childhood and early days until now she has loved me whether she would or no. Such a bond seldom exists between brother and sister; when she was a child, the first time that, as the custom is to press the breast of children so that a drop of milk comes out, they pressed my sister's breast, a drop of milk came out and my illustrious father said: "Bābā, drink this milk that this sister of thine may be in truth looked upon as thy mother." God, from whom no secrets are hid, knoweth that from that day, on which I drank the drop of milk, I have felt for my sister, apart from the love that exists between brother and sister, the love of children for their mother.

After some time another daughter was born to the above mentioned Bībī Daulat-i-Shād, whom they named Ārām Bānū Bēgam. She was for the most part inclined to be hot and sharp tempered. My father was very fond of her, so that he explained away most of her bad behaviour and through the greatness of his love did not allow it to appear bad in his eyes. He repeatedly used to honour me by saying: "To please me, be kind to this sister of thine, who is known among the Hindūs as my

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[1] See Blochmann in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 213-14.

lāḍlah (darling), and after I am gone, treat her as I have done and pet her and overlook her whims and caprices." *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, (Ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Allygurh 1864), p. 16.

Death of Ārām Bānū Begam.

"On the 7th of the month of Tīr A.H. 1033, (A.D. 1624), the pious sister of His Majesty died from dysentery. His late Majesty (Akbar) loved this chaste Begam very much. In the fortieth year of her age she departed (innocent) as she had come into this world" (*Ibid.*, p. 386.)

APPENDIX III.

Inscriptions.

Tomb of Ārām Bānū.

North side اللهم اغفرلي ذنوبي (Nasta'līq character) "O God, forgive me my sins."

South side هذ القبر آرام بانو (Nasta'līq character) "This is the grave of Ārām Bānū."

East and west sides—Verse 255 of the 2nd chapter of the Qurān in Nasta'līq characters.

The same inscriptions in the same characters are found on the sarcophagus of the grave of Shukru-n-nisā except on the north side, which has the name Shukru-n-nisā Begam instead of Ārām Bānū.

Sarcophagus of the grave of Sulaimān Shikoh.

(The first line in Naskhī character: the rest in Nasta'līq.)

الله و محمد و علي فاطمة حسين و حسن
چو فرمود رحلت سلیمان شکوه - ز دار فنا سوے ملک بقا
بسال دو صد الف و پنجاه و سه - به ذیقعده بست و نهم زین سرا
درآندم زهاتف ندا این رسید - بگو کرد بر شاه رحمت خدا
لوح مغفره مرشدزاده آفاق میرزا سلیمان شکوه بهادر ابن محمد شاه عالم بادشاه غازی

"Allāh and Muḥammad and 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥusain and Ḥasan,
When Sulaimān Shikoh departed
From the perishable world to the regions of eternity
In the year one thousand two hundred and fifty-three
On the 29th Zū-l-qa'dah from this world
At that moment the voice of the invisible speaker was heard to utter:
Say: "*God* showed *mercy* to the King".

This is the blessed tablet of the descendant of the spiritual guide of the world, Mīrzā Sulaimān Shikoh Bahādur, son of the King Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam Ghāzī."

Sarcophagus of the so-called grave of Zebu-n-nisā.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الا الله الملک الحق المبين - لا اله الا الله الخالق العليم - لا اله الا الله رب الخلايق
اجمعين - اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريک له و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله - اشهد ان وعده حق والموت
حق والبعث حق والنار حق والتورية حق والانجيل حق والزبور حق والفرقان حق والميزان حق و الصراط حق
وان الساعة آتية لا ريب فيها و ان الله يبعث من في القبور برحمتک يا ارحم الراحمين •

(Nine lines in Nasta'līq characters).

"In the name of Allāh the Compassionate, the Merciful. There is no God but Allāh the Lord, the True, the Manifest. There is no God but Allāh, the Creator,

North

سرہانا

الله	الرحمن	الرحيم
الملک	القدوس	السلام
المومن	المہيمن	العزيز
الجبار	المتکبر	الخالق
الباری	المصور	الغفار
القہار	الوہاب	الرزاق
الفتاح	العليم	القابض
الباسط	الخافض	الرافع
المعز	المذل	السميع
البصير	الحکم	العدل
اللطيف	الخبير	الحليم

العظيم الغفور الشکور العلی الکبير الحفيظ المقيت الحسيب الجليل الکريم الرقيب

المجيب الواسع الحکيم الودود المجيد الباعث الشہيد الحق الوکيل القوی المتين

الولی الحميد المحصی المبدئ المعيد المحيی المميت الحی القيوم الواجد الماجد

الواحد الصمد القادر المقتدر المقدم الموخر الاول الاخر الظاہر الباطن الوالی

المتعالی البر التواب المنتقم العفو الرؤف مالک الملک ذوالجلال والاکرام المقسط الجامع الغنی

المغنی المانع الضار النافع النور الہادی البديع الباقی الوارث الرشيد الصبور

جل جلالہ

the All-knowing. There is no God but Allāh, the Lord of the whole universe. I bear witness that Allāh only is God and no one beside Him, and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His prophet. I bear witness that His Promise is true, and Death is true, and the Resurrection is true, and Hell-fire is true and the Tauret (Pentateuch) is true, and the Gospel is true, and the Zabūr (Psalms of David) is true, and the Qurān is true, and the Scales (of God's justice) are true, and the Ṣirāṭ bridge is true, and that the Day of Judgment is inevitable and that Allāh will raise those who are in their graves. With thy mercy, O most merciful of the merciful."

The ninety-nine names of God on the marble slab in a niche in the northern wall of the so-called tomb of Zebu-n-nissā are as shown in the diagram on the opposite page.

36 distiches in Nasta'līq characters.

From the cloisters of the top-most storey—

W. cloister.

بنام شهنشاه ملک قدم * که ذاتش مبرا بود از عدم
همه بادشاهان روے زمین * ازو صاحب تاج و تخت و نگین
کنند ز عدم آشکارا وجود * بود ذات او مظهر عدل و جود
زلطفش که و مه طلبگار کام * بود درگهش قبلهٔ خاص و عام
نگارندهٔ جوهر آب و خاک * طرازندهٔ گوهر جان پاک
دو عالم ز فیض ازل آفرید * یکے کرد پنهان و دیگر پدید
به بخشید انکه سراے سپنج * بشاهان با افسر و تاج و گنج
که از عدل ایشان شود روزگار * شگفته تر از باغ در نوبهار
ره داوري را چوگیرند پیش * شناسند بیگانه راهمچو خویش

S. cloister.

شهے کو چنین زیست در روزگار * بود سایهٔ ذات پروردگار
زنهصد فزون بُود شصت و دو سال * که شاه اکبر آن سایهٔ ذوالجلال
ببالاے زرینه مسند نشست * بر تخت اوگشت افلاک پست
جهانرا بیاراست از عدل و داد * دل اهل عالم از و گشت شاد
بر پایهٔ تختش از هر گروه * شده جمع مردان صاحب شکوه
بمهر از فگندے نظر سوے خاک * بگوهر شدے بهتر از جان پاک
گرفتے بیک حمله ملکی برزم * بایماے ابرو بدادے ببزم
چو لطف خدا لطف او عام بود * بهر کار چشمش بانجام بود
بدرگاه او هر که بردے پناه * چو اندیشه رفتے زماهي بماه

E. cloister.

چنان پُرشد آوازه اش درجهان * که دردل نگنجید راز نهان
به پر داخت آنگونه روے زمین * که کرد آفرینش جهان آفرین
بگیتي دو افزون زپنجاه سال * چنین کرد شاهي ز روے جلال
چو از عدل آباد کرد این جهان * سوے آن جهان رفت روشن روان
شه هفت کشور ازین پیش بود * کنون هشت جنت مسخر نمود
به نزد خردمند هشیار دل * سرائیست این عالم آب و گل
مجو مهر از جوهر نه سپهر * که باکس بپایان نبرداشت مهر
سپهرست پرکینه مهرش مدار * که باکینه‌ور مهر ناید بکار
جهان ست مانند موج سراب * ازان تشنه دل کے شود کامیاب

N. cloister.

نه بستست پیمان کس روزگار * که نشکست آنرا به هنگام کار
نماند بگیتي کسے جاودان * زدست اجل کس نبردست جان

چه خوش گفت آن کامل نکته سنج * که از گوهر دانش اندوخت گنج
جهان اے برادر نماند بکس * دل اندر جهان آفرین بند و بس
شد از عدل شاه اکبر کامگار * بسان بهشت برین روزگار
جهان گشت خرم بدوران او * زمین و زمان شد بفرمان او
ولے دهر بے مهر پیمان گسل * زکین مهر او کرد بیرون ز دل
ز تاثیر بے مهرئی این جهان * روان شد سوے عالم جاودان
روانش همیشه زحق شاد باد * ازو عالم قدس آباد باد

W. cloister.

1. In the name of the King of Kings, the ruler of eternity, whose being is exempt from non-existence!

2. All kings on earth hold crown and throne and signet from Him.

3. Out of non-existence He produces existence; His nature reveals justice and generosity.

4. Great and small, in consequence of His goodness, are solicitous of His bounty; His throne is the cynosure of the elect and the people.

5. He designed the essence of water and of earth; he created the pure nature of the soul.

6. He created two worlds in His eternal kindness; one He concealed and the other He showed.

7. At the same time He bestowed the transitory world upon kings[1] together with the crown, the royal cap, and the treasury,

8. So that through their justice flourishing ages might surpass the bloom of a garden in spring;

9. And, whilst choosing the path of justice, they might look upon strangers as upon themselves.

S. cloister.

10. A king who in his age lives in this manner, is indeed the shadow of God.

11. It was in 962,[2] that Shāh Akbar, the glorious

12. Sat on the golden cushion, which on his throne became a lower heaven.

13. He adorned the world with his justice and equity, and the hearts of the people of the world became glad through him.

14. At the foot of his throne eminent men of all nations gathered.

15. If he cast in love a glance on the ground, its (the ground's) essence became better than that of the pure soul.

16. He took kingdoms in war on the first attack, and in the twinkling of an eye again gave them away at feasts.

17. As God's kindness, so was his kindness general; and his eye perceived the end of every affair.

18. Whoever took refuge at his throne, rose like thought (rises) from the fish (upon which the earth stands) to the moon.

E. cloister.

19. His fame filled so entirely the whole world, that no one's heart could conceal a secret.[3]

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[1] In allusion to Akbar's ideas of the divine right of kings.

[2] This should be 963.

[3] A hyperbole. If a man had a secret in his heart, Akbar's fame displaced the secret and took sole possession of the man's whole heart.

20. He rendered the face of the earth so bright, that even the Creator praised him.

21. He thus ruled for more than fifty-two years on earth with glory;

22. And because by means of his justice he had rendered this world prosperous, he went a bright spirit to the next world.

23. Before, he was a king of the seven climes; he has now subjugated the eight paradises.

24. In the eyes of wise men of sense, this perishable world is a sarai.

25. Do not expect to find kindness in fate (the nine spheres), for in the end fate shews kindness to no one.

26. Fate is spiteful, do not love it; for love is wasted on the spiteful.

27. The world is like the wave you see in a mirage; it can never satisfy the thirsty heart.

N. cloister.

28. Fate has kept faith with no one, but breaks its promise at the time of need.

29. No one remains for ever in this world, and no one has freed life from death's grasp.

30. How well said the eloquent sage (the poet Sa'di), in the jewel of whose wisdom he[1] found a treasure.

31. "The world, O brother, remains with no one: cling with thy soul to the Creator, and that is enough."

32. But although the age through the justice of Shāh Akbar, the fortunate, became like the highest paradise,

33. And although the world was happy in his time, and earth and age yielded to his rule,

34. Unfeeling and word-breaking fate spitefully removed its love to him from its heart.

35. However, fate's want of love led him to eternal life.

36. May his soul for ever rejoice in his Creator, may the world of holiness brighten through him! [2]

Inscriptions on the South Gateway.

Above the spandrels of the arch on the north side in four panels in Nasta'līq characters—

طاقی که از رواق نهم چرخ برتر است
روشن زسایه اش رخ تابندهٔ اختر است
این طاق زیب نه فلک و هفت کشور است
از روضهٔ منورهٔ شاه اکبر است

"This arch is higher than the portico of the ninth heaven,
By its reflection the face of the shining stars is illumined.
This arch is the ornament of the nine heavens and the seven climes,
And belongs to the glorious mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar."

[1] Akbar, who liked Sa'di's *Gulistān*. *Āīn-i-Akbari*, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, 103.

[2] Cf. *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1874, pp. 216-7.

Inscription on the North front of the South Gateway in Ṭughrā characters.

دوام و ملک قدیم و بقاے نیست کس را - خدا راست بقاے ملک قدیم و دوام

این ریاض فیض بخش بهشت مثال و این روضهٔ متبرکهٔ فردوس تمثال مرقد مطهر و مضجع منور شاه عالمپناه خلد آرامگاهی ست که قصر رفیعش قدر پرداز اوج عرش آزالاعزاز است و بهشت‌آباد جلالش حریم کعبهٔ سعادت و قبلهٔ اقبال تاج بخش سلاطین کامگار تخت نشان خواقین عالیمقدار مجدد سمات کمال مجدد جهات اقبال صاحبقران همایون فر ماحي مآثر کسرے و قیصر اعني داراے کسرے حشمت آسمان جاه ابوالغازي جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه که گوهر افسر تاجداران و افسر تارک جهانداران بود و بعد از مدت پنجاه و دو سال قمري که بیمن مواهب ایزدي باسطوت و حشمت جمشیدي و شکوه و شوکت سلیماني برفراز مسند سلطنت و کامراني نشست و در تقدیم شرایط جهانباني و جهانداري به نیروي بازوي داوري و دارائی آرام ده عرصهٔ زمین و زمان انتظام بخش عالم کون و مکان گشت - چون مرحلهٔ پیماے سنین عمر مبارکش از حدود ستین دو مرحلهٔ شمسي گذشت درچهارم ماه ابان که صبح ولادت آن سپهر منزلت از افق تائید الهي طالع شده بود موافق تاریخ دوازدهم شهر جمادي‌الاخر سنه هزار و چهارده هجري بمقتضاي سنهٔ سنیهٔ سبحاني که در عرصهٔ گیتي دولت خانهٔ هیچ شهریارے کامکارے نیست که خامهٔ تقدیر ازلي بر پیش طاق آن آیهٔ کل من علیها فان ننوشته و قصر هیچ جلال صاحب اقبالے نمانده که رقم قصر بر کتابهٔ آن مُثبت نگشته *

درین حدیقه بهار و خزان هم آغوشست * زمانه جام بدست و جنازه بردوش است

ازین عالم بیمدار خاکدان بے اعتبار که رحلتگاه بسي سلم و تور و خوابگاه چندین قیصر و فغفور است روے توجه و التفات گردانیده بمشاهدهٔ جمال اجلال حي لایموت پرداخت و داعي والله یدعوالے دارالسلام را بلبیک اجابت استقبال نمود بمودای ارجعي الے ربک راضیة مرضیه رخت اقامت ازین جهان بے استقامت بر بست و از طریق مضیق کدورات جسماني تجرد جسته ترین اصناف درجات علیه درجوار مسند ملک منان عفو و غفران نشست -

۱۰۲۲ في

کتبه - عبدالحق شیرازي

شاه اکبر ز روے دانائي * گر بظاهر ز دهر فاني رست
دولتش بیزوال بود ازان * دل بدنهاے بازوال نبست
مرغ روحش چو بود طائر عرش * رفت بر آشیان خویش نشست

Length of days, eternal dominion and perpetuity are for none.
Perpetuity, eternal dominion and length of days belong to God.

These favour-bestowing heavenly gardens and this paradise-like blessed mausoleum are the holy sleeping place and the glorious tomb of the exalted Emperor, whose home is in the Heavens. This lofty palace eclipses the fame of the high Throne of God, which is worthy of homage. The Bihishtābād[1] of his glory is the enclosure of the Ka'ba of fortune and the qibla of prosperity. The crowner of fortunate emperors, enthroner of kings of exalted dignity, renewer of the marks of perfection, renewer of the phases of prosperity, a Ṣāḥibqirān,[2] a Humāyūn in pomp, defacer of the glories of Kisrā[3] and Caesar, I mean the heaven-exalted king of Kisrā's dignity, father of the Ghāzī (Jahāngīr), the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, was the diamond of the crown of kings and the crown of the head of the lords of the world. And after a reign of fifty-two lunar years—during which he sat on the throne of kingdom and prosperity by the blessing of divine favours with Jamshed's power and dignity and Solomon's pomp and majesty, and, by fulfilling the conditions of Government and sovereignty with the strength of the arm of justice and rule, which gave peace for all time and in all places—he restored order to the ma terial world. When the measure of his blessed life had exceeded sixty by two solar stages, on the 4th of the month of Ābān, on which the morning of the birth of that heaven-exalted (king) had dawned

[1] The village of Sikandarah was named Bihishtābād (land of paradise) on account of Akbar being interred there. 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Fol. 26; *Tuzuk*, p. 121.

[2] Ṣāḥibqirān, lit. lord of the happy union (of Jupiter and Venus), one born under the influence of such an auspicious conjunction. It was the title of Timūr.

[3] Kisrā was used as a title of the Kings of Persia.

from the horizon of the providence of God, (corresponding with the 12th of the month of Jumādā II, A.H. 1014), according to this precious law of the most Holy God that in the world there is no mansion of any fortunate king, on the lofty gateway of which the pen of eternal destiny has not written the verse "all that is on it (earth) is perishable[1]" and not a palace of any prosperous glory is left, on which the word 'brevity' has not been inscribed—

In this garden spring and autumn embrace:
Time has the cup in the hand and the corpse on the back—

he turned his attention from this transient and unreliable world, which is the departing-place of many a Salm and Tūr,[2] and the sleeping-bed of so many Caesars and Faghfūrs,[3] and engaged himself in the contemplation of the grace and glory of the Living who will not die, and received with acceptance the messenger of (the tidings) "God calls towards the abode of peace,[4]" (and) according to the purport of "return to thy Lord well pleased (with thy reward) and well pleasing (unto God)[5]" he made ready for the journey from this unstable world, and, seeking freedom from the narrow path of physical impurities, he sat, favoured with various exalted ranks, by the throne of the King, the Bestower of pardon.

Written by 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq Shīrāzī in 1022.

Though the Emperor Akbar, in his wisdom
Has apparently thrown off the ties of the perishable world,
Yet his empire is on this account safe from ruin,
That he did not attach his heart to the transient world.
As the bird of his soul was a denizen of heaven,
It flew away and settled in its true nest.

Inscription on the South front of the South Gateway in Ṭughrā characters.

بمیامن توفیقات صانع جهان آفرینی که نه بقیاس مهندس کامل خرد ساحت بارگاه کبریائي جلالش توان
پیمود و بدستیاري معمار خیال و وهم عروج بر معارج قصر عزت بے مثالش توان نمود جل جناب جلاله عن احاطه
الادراک بکنه کماله این طاق رفیع و ایوان منیع که نقش کتابه آن بقلم رقم تزیین ابداع و تکوین یافته مناظر
بدیعش درقصر این رواق بیمثل طاق زر اندودست - رضوان بلاجورد بدر کتابه اش دام لک العز والبقا تحریر
کرده - با اصل این عمارت عالي بنیاد فیض نهاد که رسا .... ندس قطره ات ارجمند خاقان جهانگیر
جهان ستان سلطان اعظم اعدل رفیع الشان ممهد قوانین عظمت وکشور کشائي موسس قواعد حشمت و فرمان
روائي فهرست مکارم اخلاق قانون بخش ناظم آفاق - شاه بادیهیم وفر و کاه خسرو پدر زبدر پادشاه بر آفاق ظل همای
گسترده - در آن پناه خلق خدای آسوده - صدر آرای بارگاه جاه و جلال مسند نشین شرف و اقبال دارا شکوه
سکندر ظفر نوشیروان عدالت سلیمان حشم قدر قدرت قضا اقتدار کیوان رفعت عالمدار صاحبقرانے که با فر
همایوني لوای دولت جهانگیري از شرفات سماک گذرانیده و آوازه عدالت گستري بذروه افلاک رسانیده -
بر ایوان قدرش چون فلک صد پرده دار - برسر بام جلالش چون زحل صد پاسبان - شهنشاه جمجاه فلک بارگاه
السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان الخاقان بن الخاقان ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازي
که به نسبت بنوت و جانشیني فروغ بخش دودمان رفعت اقتران سلطان السلاطین جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه
غازیست و از حیثیت سروري و سرفرازي نقاوه خاندان سعادت بنیان صاحبقراني و چنگیزخاني در سنه هفت
جلوس مبارک جهانگیري موافق سنه هزار و بست و یک هجري درهفت سال صورت تمام اتمام و کتابه اختتام یافت -

۱۰۲۱ فی

کتبه - عبدالحق بن قاسم الشیرازي

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[1] Qurān, Chapter LV, verse 26.

[2] Salm and Tūr, two sons of Faredūn, who killed the third Iraj, their junior for the kingdom of Persia, but were at last themselves slain in revenge by Minūchihr, the grandson of Iraj.

[3] General name of the Emperors of China.

[4] Qurān, Chapter X, verse 26.

[5] Qurān, Chapter LXXXIX, verse 28.

كتبه عبد الحق ابن قاسم الشيرازي ۱۰۲۱

مرحبا خرم فضاے خوشتر از باغ بهشت * مرحبا عالي بناے برتر از عرش برين

جنتي روضه اورا هزاران رضوان غلام * روضه اورا هزاران جنت‌الماوى زمين

كلک معمار قضا بنوشته بر درگاه او * هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدين

By the blessings of the Divine Favour of the world-creating Artificer, the expanse of whose glory-resplendent Palace cannot be measured by the calculations of that Perfect Surveyor, the Intellect: nor by the aid of those architects Thought and Imagination can the steps of the castle of his unparallelled Glory be ascended. His noble greatness by reason of his perfect nature is outside the boundaries of the Perception. This towering dome and this inaccessible Palace, whose inscriptions have been designed and executed by the caligraphy-adorning pen, offer within the structure of the peerless portico the marvellous sight of a gilded dome. The Gate Keeper of Heaven inscribed with azure on the gateway: "May thy glory and endurance continue"—Together with the main building of glorious foundation and conspicuous origin.

. . . . the precious intelligence of the world-conquering Emperor, the Sulṭān, the great, the most just, the exalted, the founder of the ordinances of Greatness and world conquest, the establisher of the Regulations of Pomp and Government, the Repository of noble qualities, Law Giver, controller of the Universe—a Shah with diadem, and splendour and rank, a Khusrau, by long descent a Pādishāh—has spread the shadow of the Humā[1] over the whole horizon. Under his shelter God's creatures are at rest; he is the adorner of the chief seat in the Court of rank and splendour; he sits upon the throne of honour and Fortune: he has the grandeur of Darius, the Triumphs of Alexander, the Justice of Nūshirwān, the pomp of Sulaimān, the power of Fate, the strength of Destiny, the height of Kaiwān (Saturn). He possesses the world; he is a Lord of the Happy Conjunction, who with regal splendour has carried the banner of conquest beyond the heights of Simāk.[2] The fame of his dispensation of Justice has reached the highest heavens.

On the tower of his strength are a hundred sentinels like those of heaven. On the roof of his glory are a hundred watchmen like Saturn. He is a Shāhinshāh with the dignity of Jamshed, whose court is like the Sky—emperor, son of an emperor, son of an emperor, king, son of a king, son of a king, the emperor Abu-l-Muzaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Ghazī, who by the relation of sonship and succession is the splendour-imparter of the exalted family of the king of kings, the emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Ghāzī, and in respect of sovereignity and eminence is the best of the fortunate dynasty of the Ṣāḥibqirān (Tīmūr) and Chingez Khān in the seventh year of the august accession of Jahāngīr, corresponding with A.H. 1021, after seven years the building was completed and the inscription finished. Written by 'Abdu-l Ḥaqq, son of Qāsim Shīrāzī in 1021.

Hail, blessed space happier than the garden of paradise!
Hail, lofty building higher than the divine throne!
A paradise, the garden of which has thousands of Rizwāns as servants,
The garden of which has thousands of paradises for its land.

---

[1] A bird of happy omen.

[2] The name of two stars, (As-Simākul A'zal) *Spica virginis* and (As-Simākal) Rāmiḥ) *Arcturus*.

The pen of the mason of the Divine Decree has written on its court
"These are the gardens of Eden, enter them to live for ever."
Written by 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq-al-S̲h̲īrāzī in 1022.

Inscription round the wall of the octagonal hall of the South Gate in Nasta'līq characters.

بفرمان شاهنشه ذوالجلال * که باشد شهنشاهیش بے زوال
شد آراسته آن چنان روزگار * که حیران شد اندیشهٔ هوشیار
بگیتي ز فیض ازل پادشاه * بود سایهٔ نور ذات اله
چو از دهر آن سایه گردد نهان * فتد سایهٔ دیگر اندر جهان
بدینسان بود تا سرانجام کار * به نزد خرد گردش روزگار
زمانه دگر گون شود هر نفس * نگردد بیک گونه باهیچکس
فلک رتبه شاه اکبر عرش گاه * که از هیبتش کوه گشتے چو کاه
نشستے چو بر تخت شاهنشهي * گرفتے جهان فر ظل الهي
فروزندهٔ افسر و تخت بود * کریم و رحیم و جوان بخت بود
دل روشن و جان آگاه داشت * جهان خورد و داد و گرفت و گذاشت
بباغ جهان تخم نیکی بکشت * بر آن گرفت از ریاض بهشت
روانش چو انوار خورشید و ماه * فروزنده باد از نور اله

1. During the rule of the illustrious king—may his kingdom never wane.
2. The world was so adorned, that the thoughts of the wise were confounded.
3. A king, by the eternal will of God, is in this world the shadow of the light of God's being.
4. When that shadow disappears from the world, another shadow falls on the world.
5. In this way, in the opinion of the wise, will ages revolve till the end of all things.
6. The world changes every moment, and remains for no one unchanged.
7. When the divine S̲h̲āh Akbar, who is now in the highest heaven and whose terror changed rocks to chaff.
8. Sat upon the throne of royalty, the glory of God's shadow surrounded the earth.
9. He conferred lustre upon crown and throne; he was generous, merciful, and successful.
10. He was clear-sighted and wise: he enjoyed and gave away: he conquered and left the world.
11. He sowed the seed of goodness in the garden of the world, and reaped the fruit of it in the gardens of paradise.
12. May his soul shine like the rays of the sun and moon in the light of God.[1]

[1] Cf. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1874, pp. 217—8.

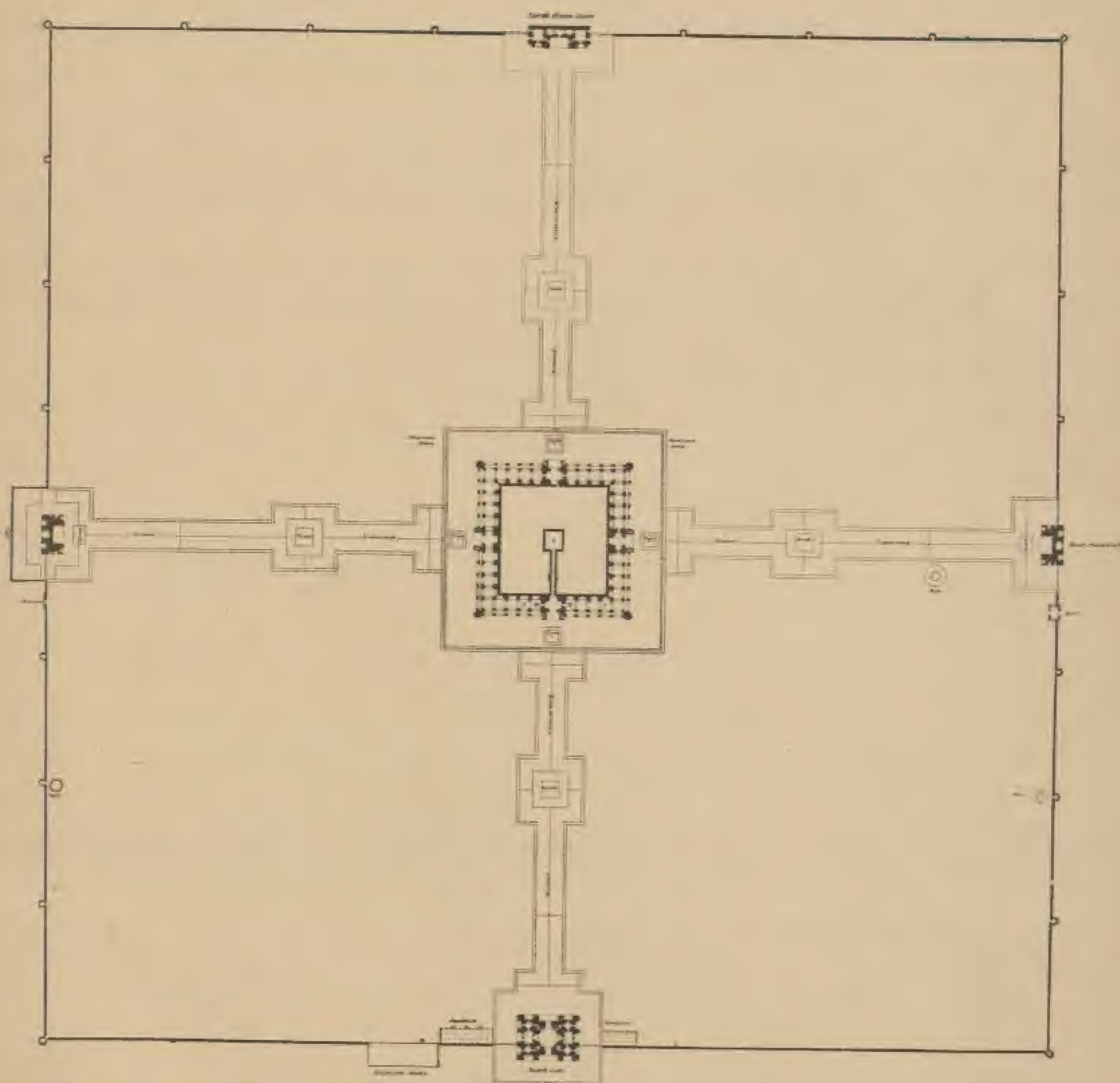


CORRIGENDA.

Plates XXXIV and XXXV, read "Shukru-n-nisā" for "Shakru-n-nisā" in title.

Plate XLII, read "scroll" for "screen" in title.

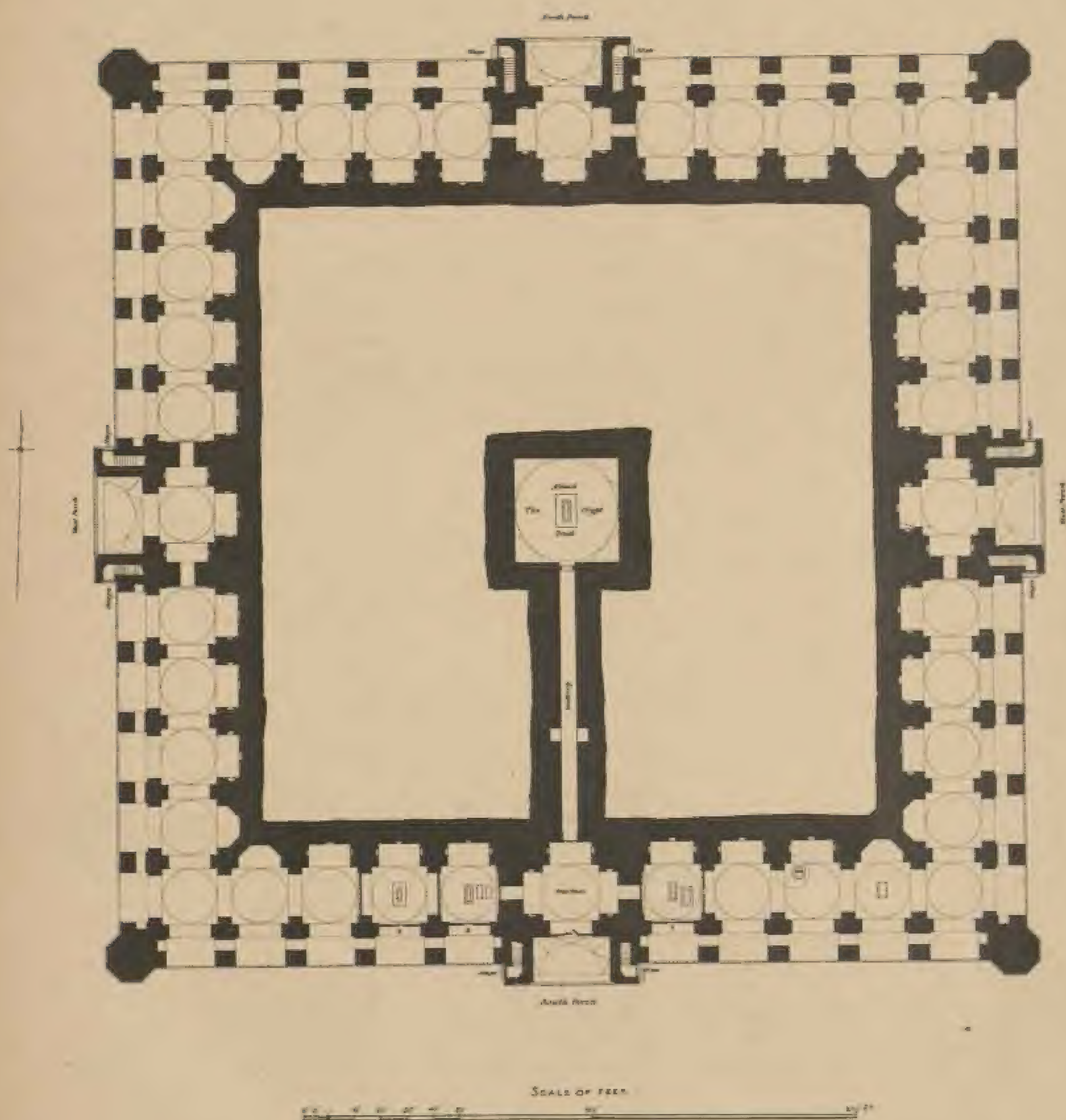
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



SCALE OF FEET

PLAN OF THE SITE.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



SCALE OF FEET.

GROUND PLAN OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

FIRST FLOOR

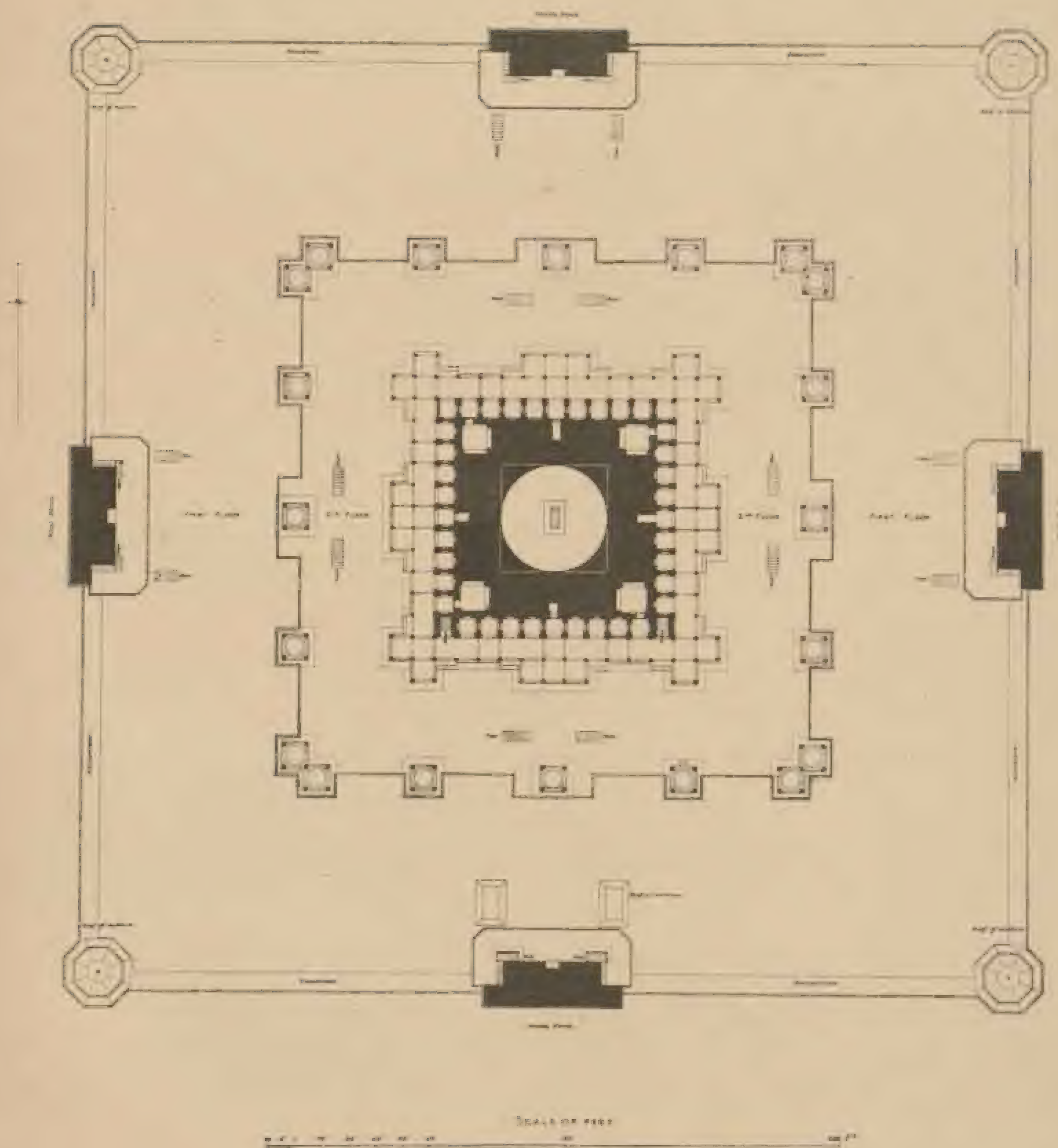
FIRST FLOOR

SCALE OF FEET



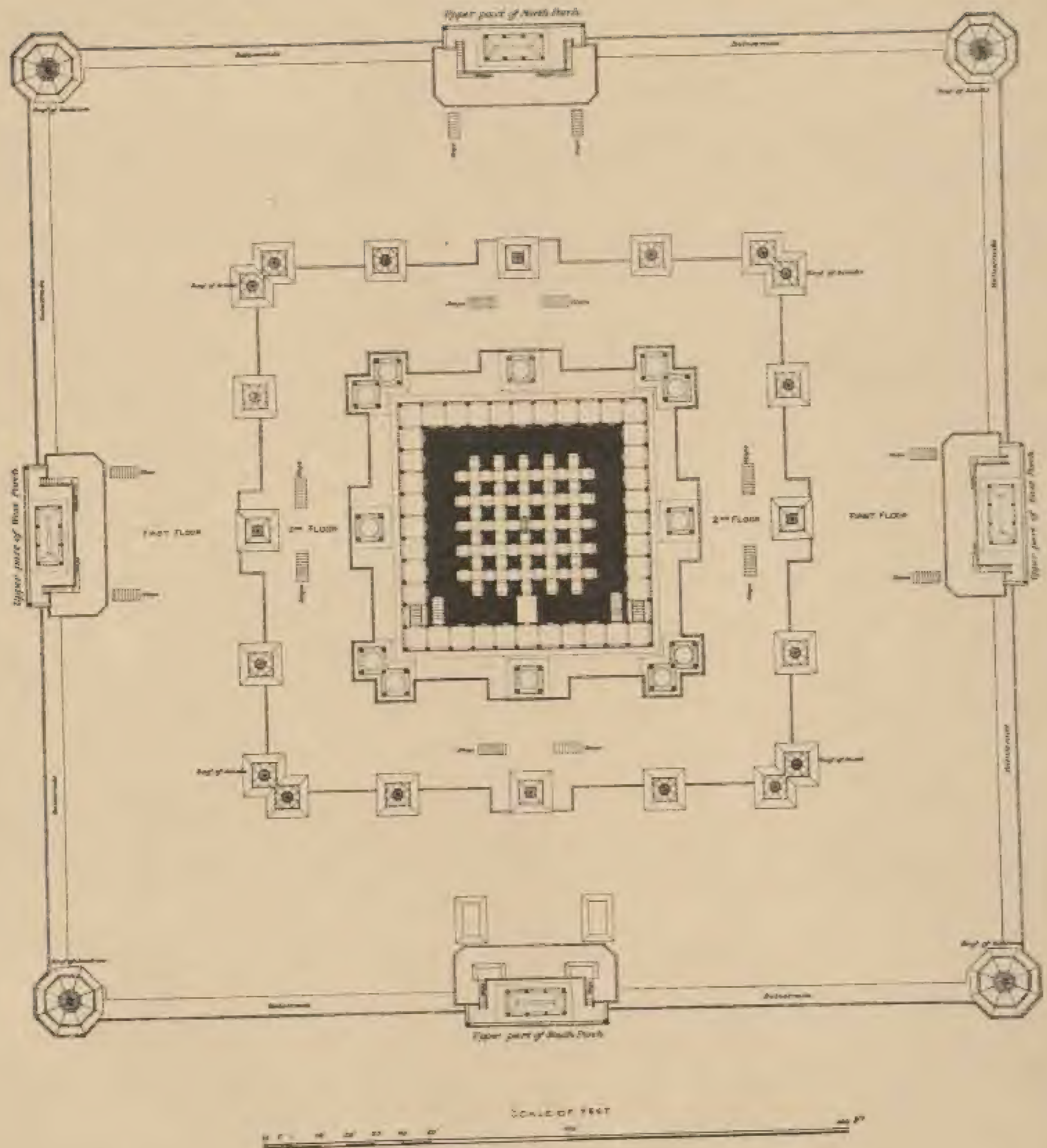
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



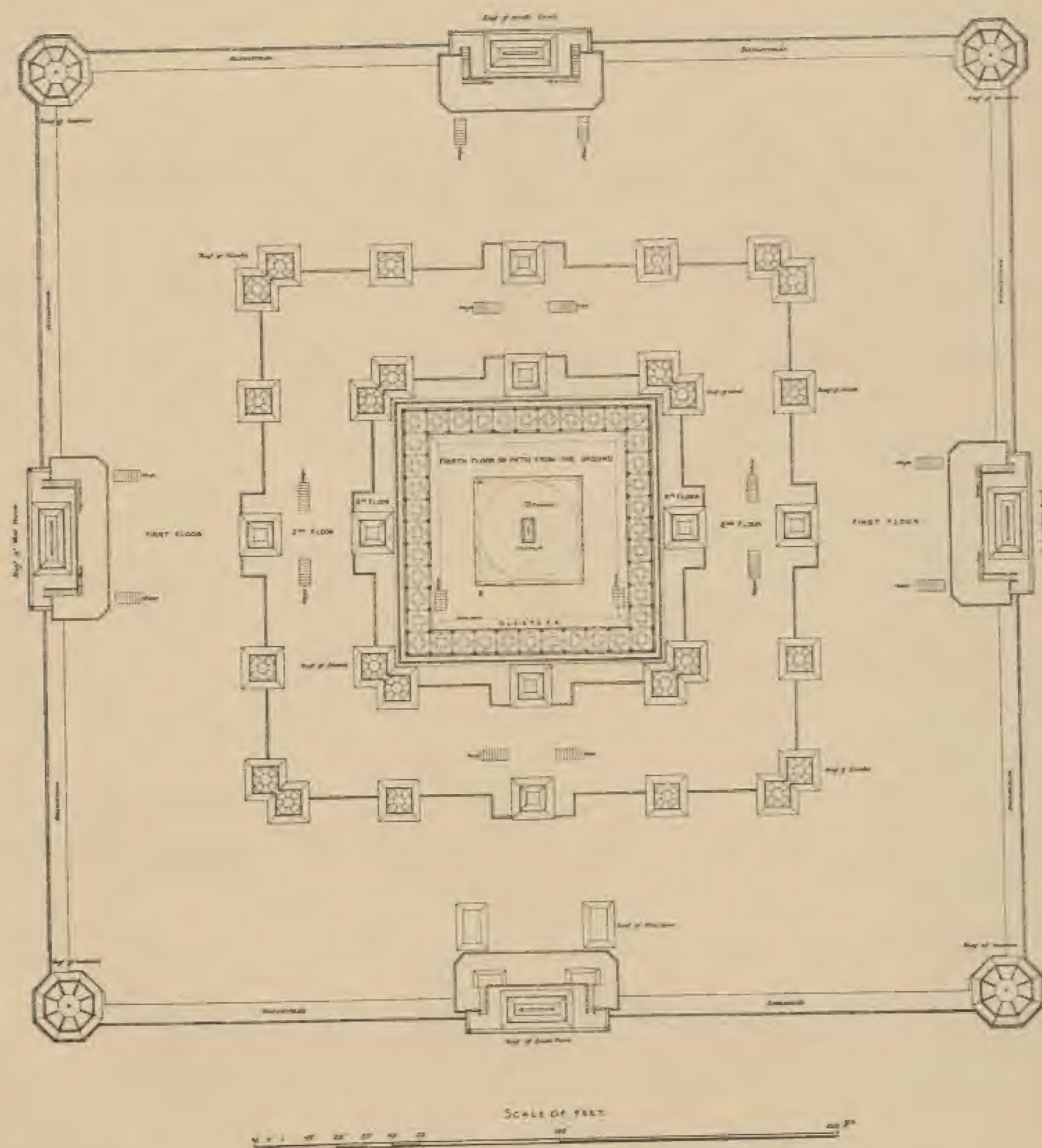
SECOND FLOOR PLAN.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



THIRD FLOOR PLAN.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



PLAN OF THE FOURTH OR TOPMOST FLOOR.



BASTION AT THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE GARDEN.



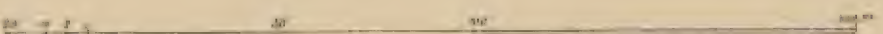
GENERAL VIEW OF THE MAUSOLEUM FROM THE SOUTH.

PLATE IX.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

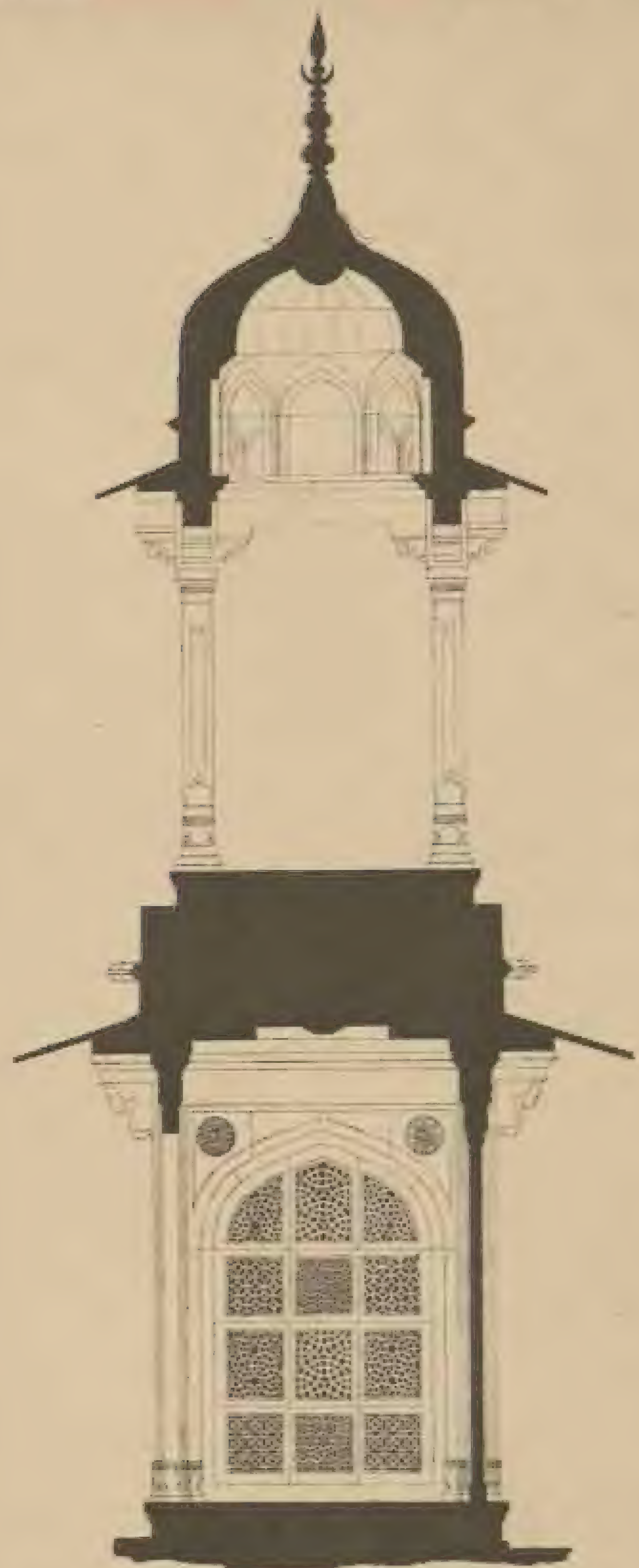
HALF PLAN TOMB ROOM

SECTION THROUGH TOMB FROM EAST TO WEST LOOKING NORTH

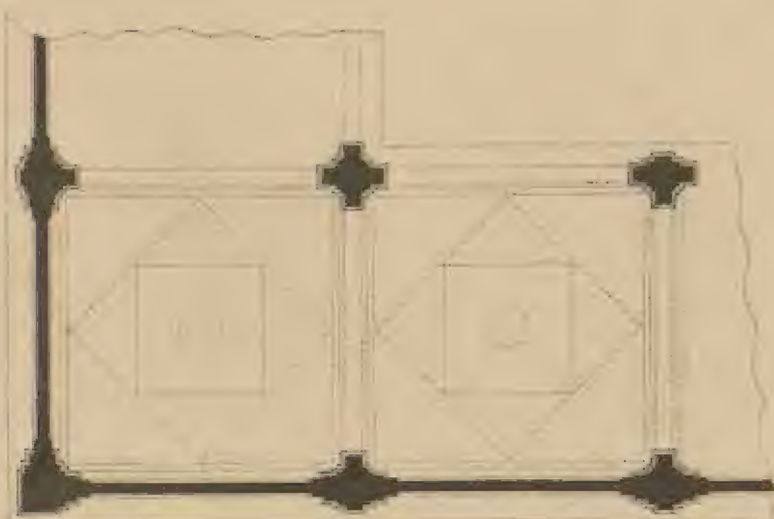




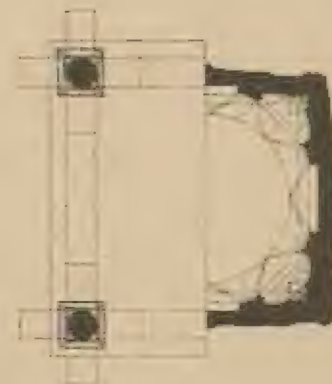
1.



2.



3.



4.



ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF THE CLOISTERS OF THE TOPMOST STOREY.

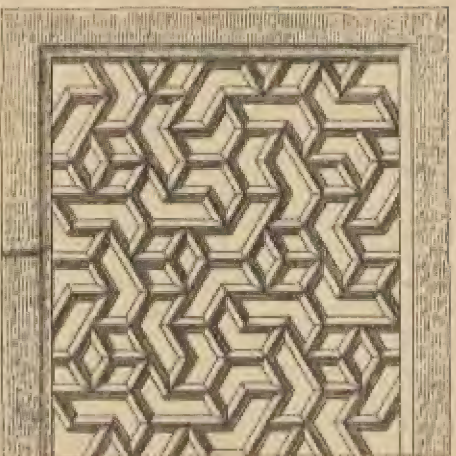


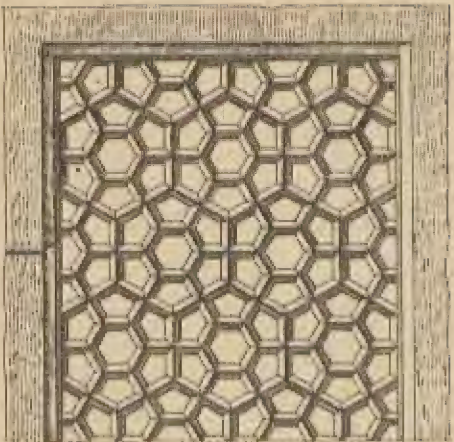
THE CENOTAPH ON THE TOPMOST STOREY.

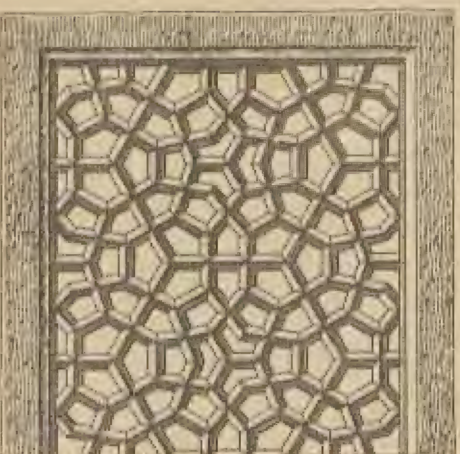
PLATE XII

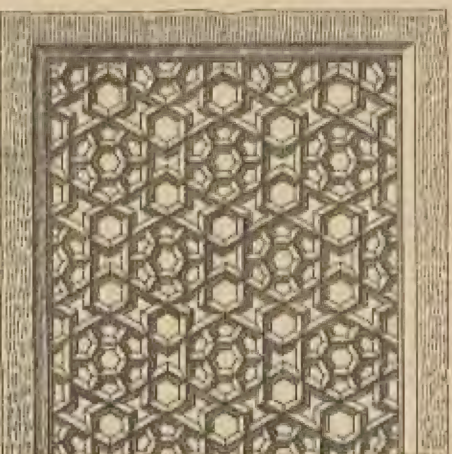
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

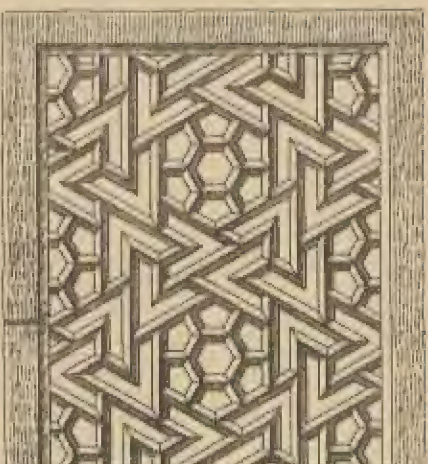










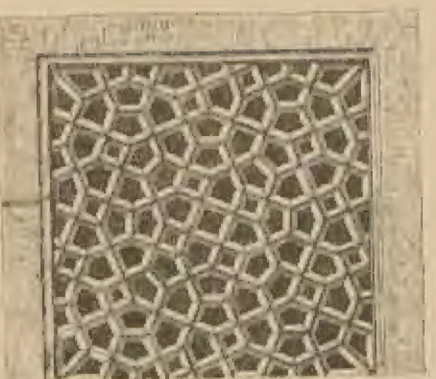


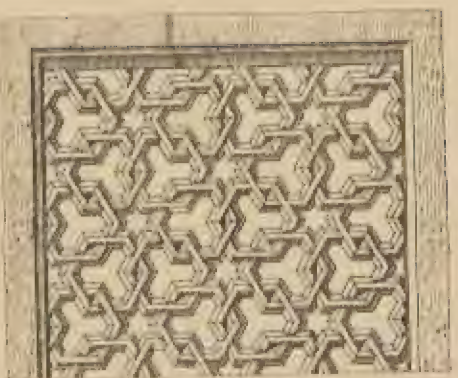
Scale of feet

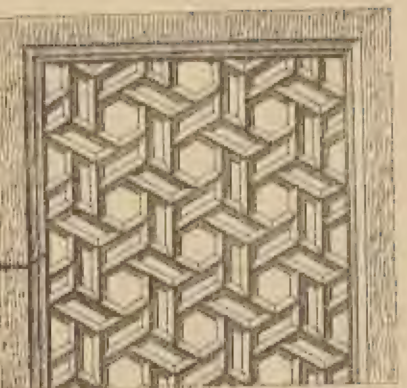


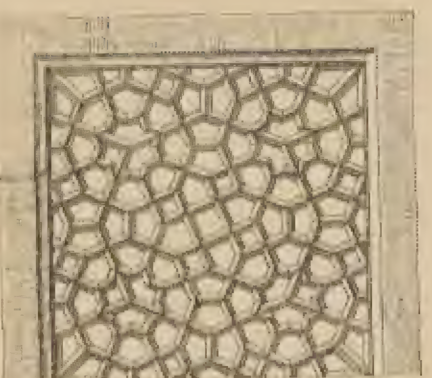
DETAILS OF JALI WORK IN THE CLOISTERS, TOPMOST STOREY

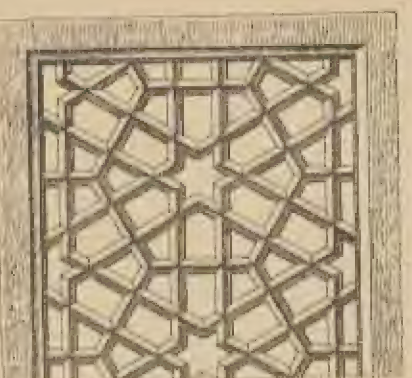
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

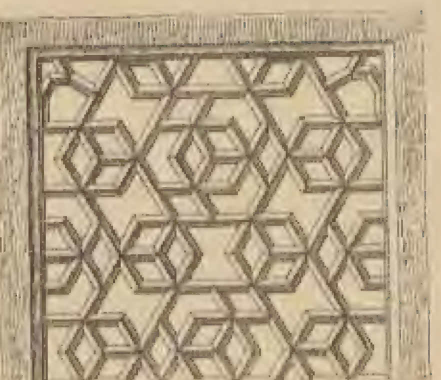














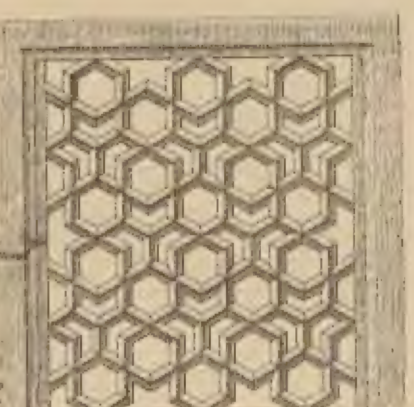
DETAILS OF JALI WORK IN THE CLOISTERS: TOPMOST STOREY

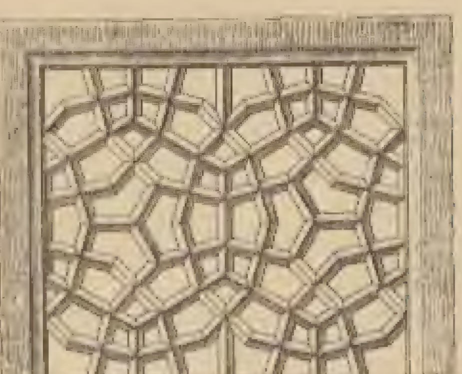
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH











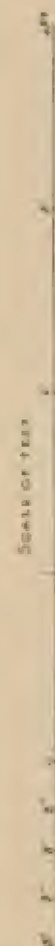




DETAILS OF JALI WORK IN THE CLOISTERS: TOPMOST STOREY.



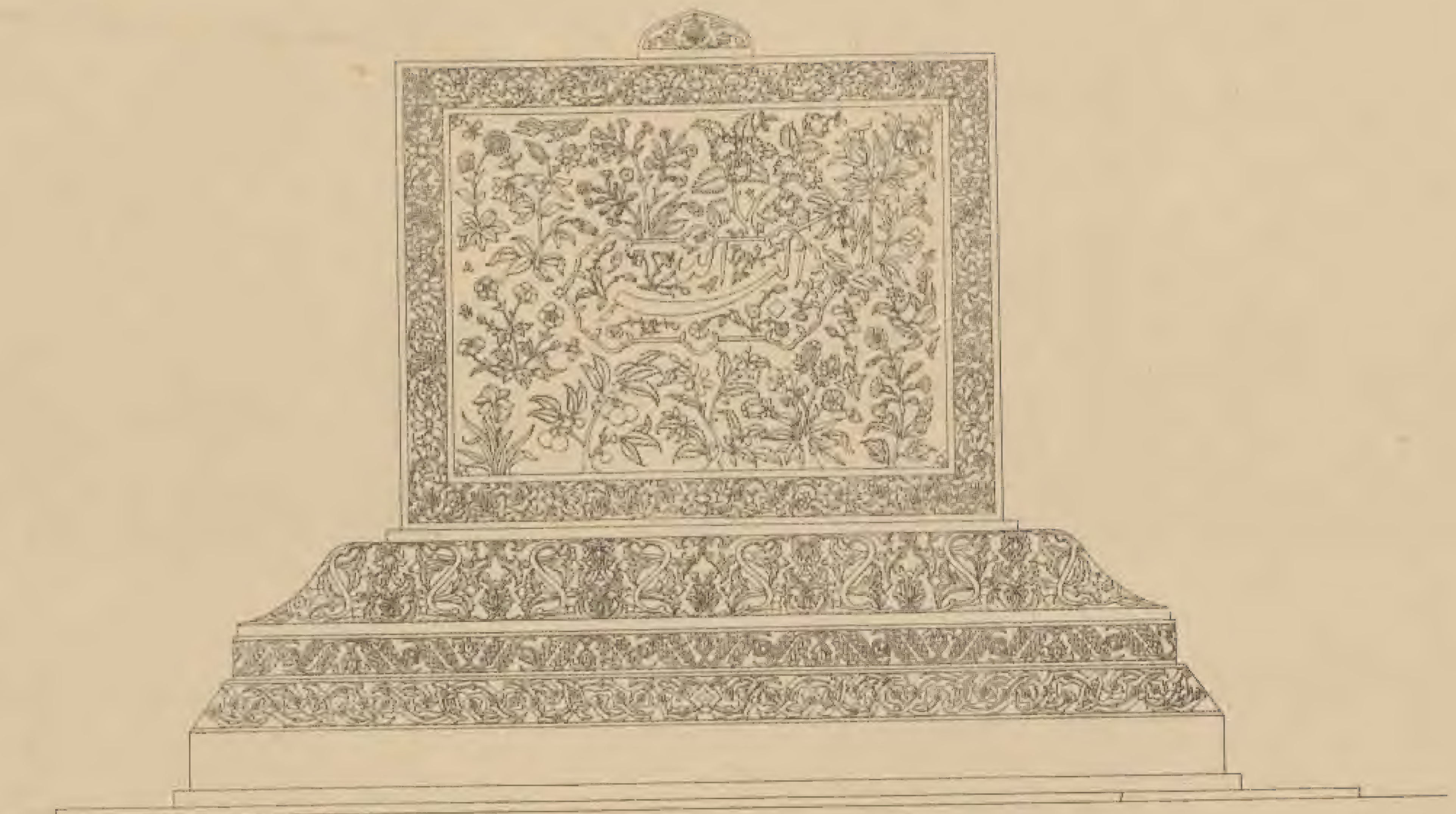
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



PLAN OF THE CENOTAPH: TOPMOST STOREY.



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



ELEVATION OF THE NORTH END OF THE CENOTAPH.

PLATE XVII.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

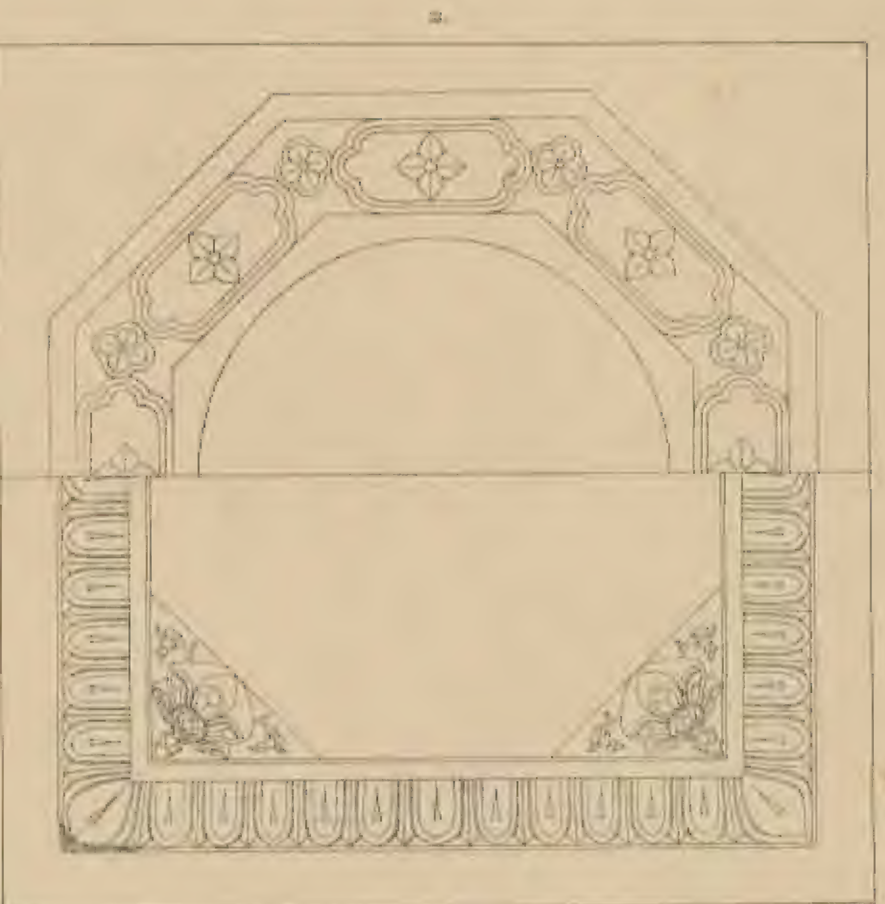


ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH END OF THE CENOTAPH.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



1.

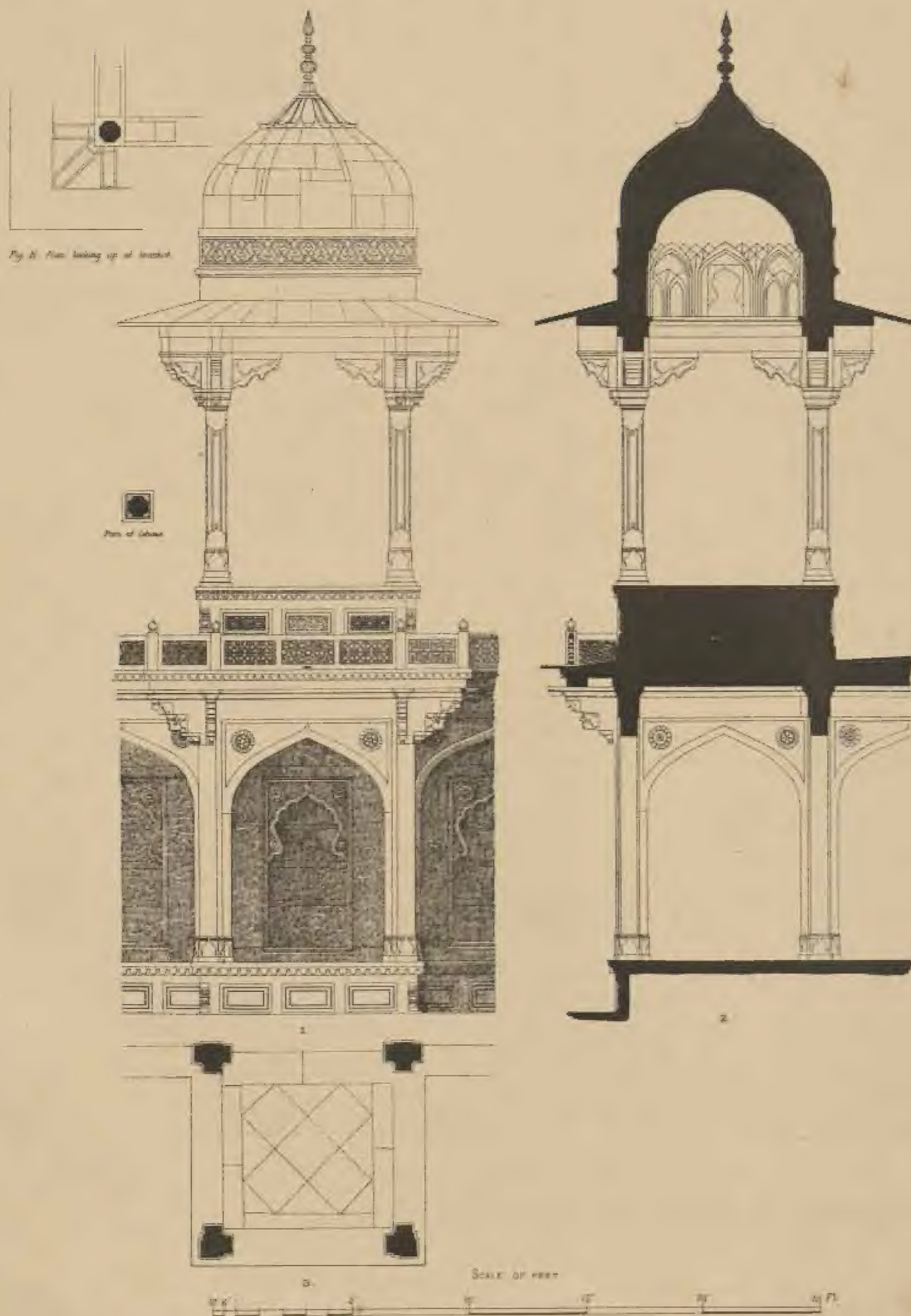


2.

3.

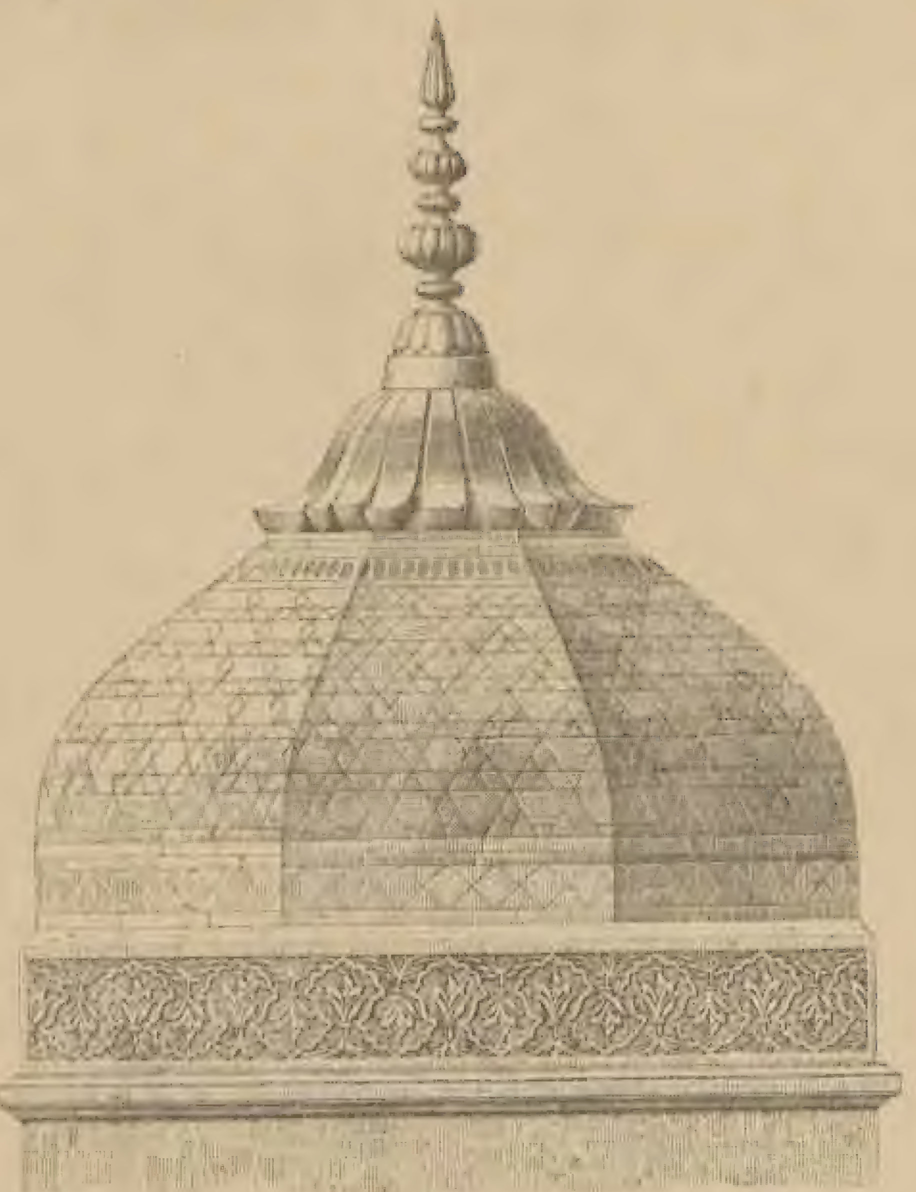


ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF THE PEDESTAL AT THE NORTH END OF THE CENOTAPH.



ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF A BAY ON FIRST FLOOR.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.











TILE DECORATION ON THE KIOSKS: THIRD FLOOR.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.











TILE DECORATION ON THE KIOSKS: THIRD FLOOR.



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.











TILE DECORATION ON THE KIOSKS: THIRD FLOOR.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

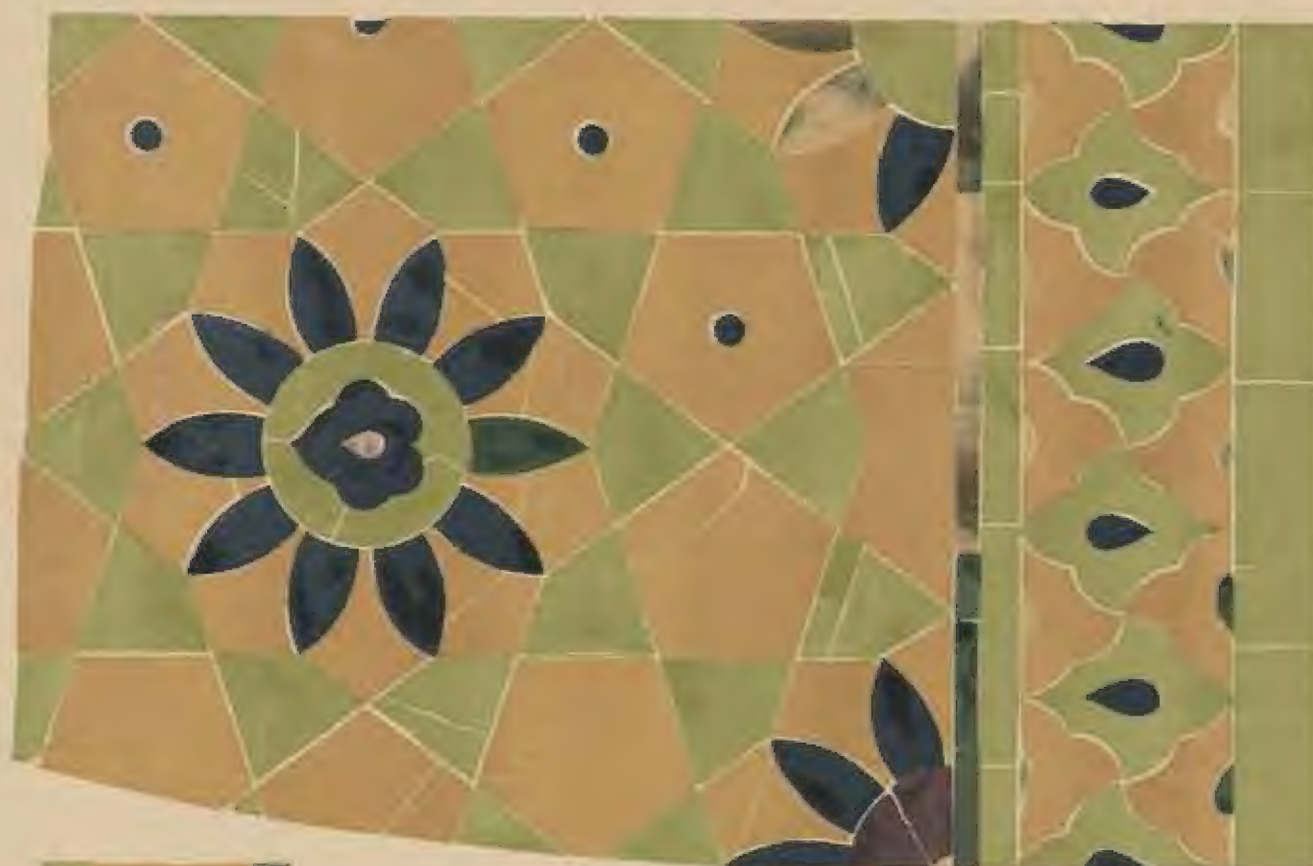






TILE DECORATION ON THE KIOSKS: THIRD FLOOR.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



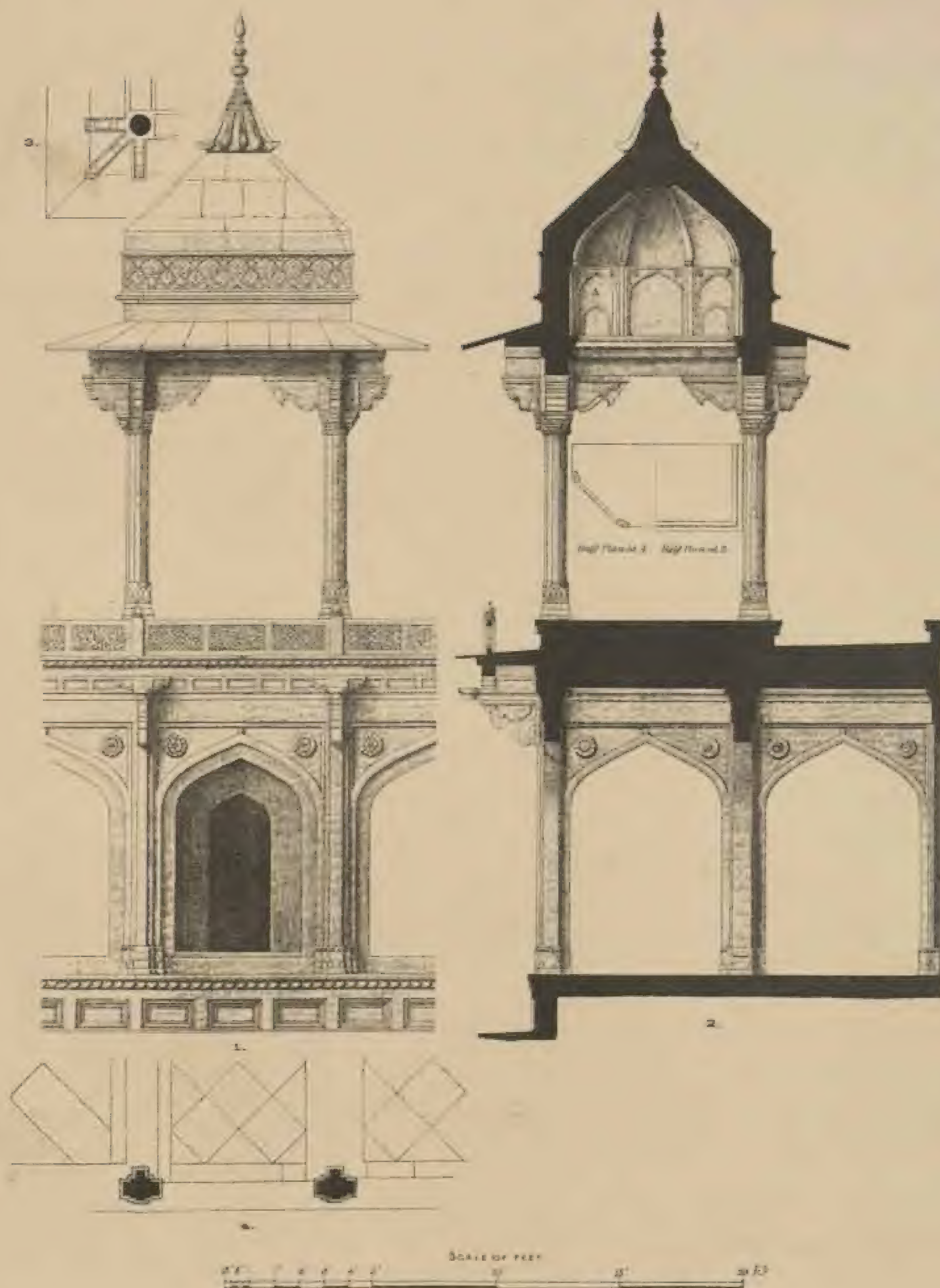








TILE DECORATION ON THE KIOSKS: THIRD FLOOR.

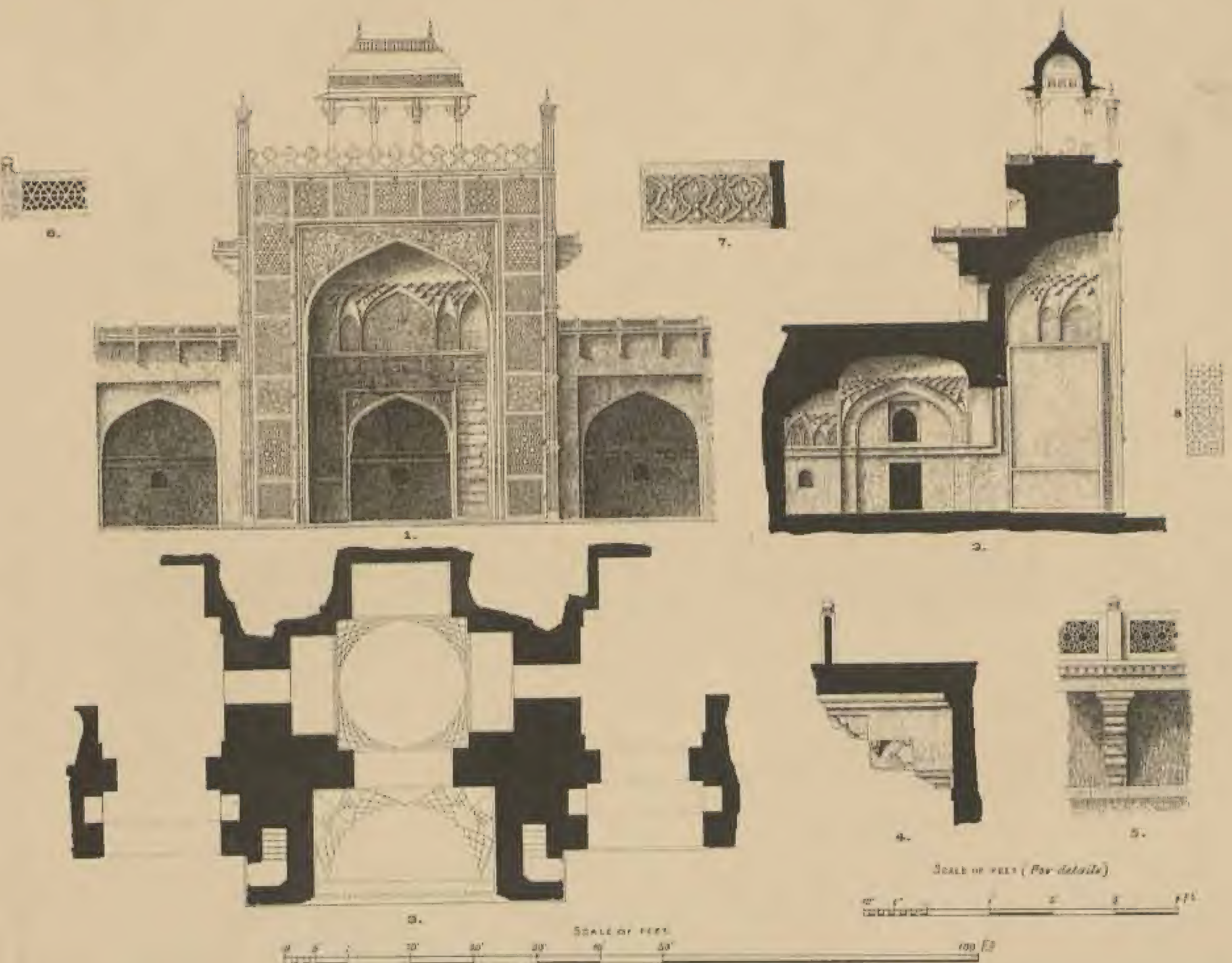


ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF A BAY: SECOND FLOOR.

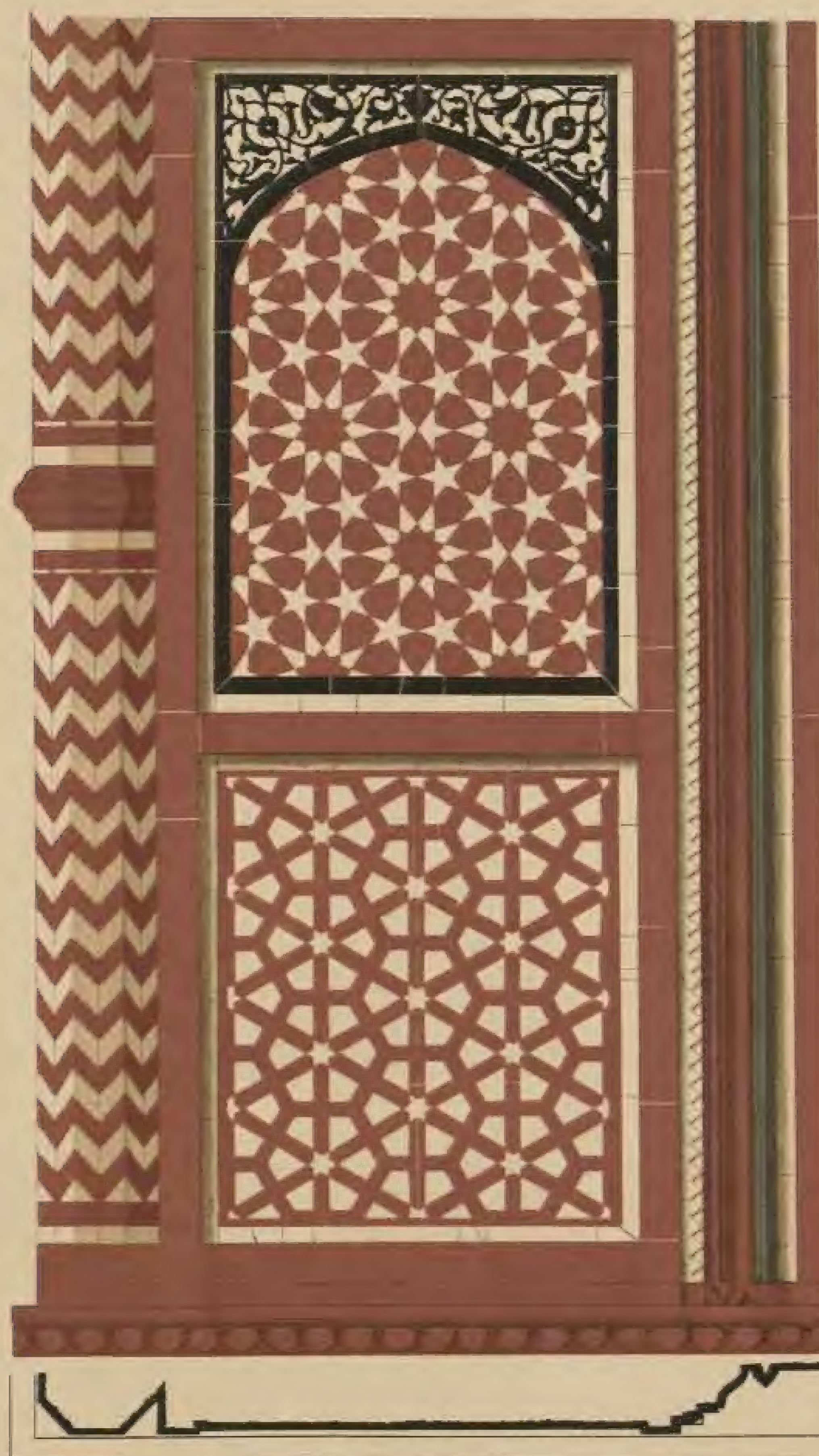


THE GREAT CENTRAL ARCH IN THE SOUTH FAÇADE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

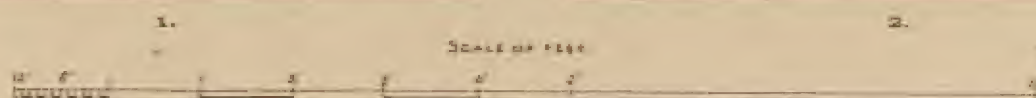


ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF THE GREAT CENTRAL ARCH IN THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

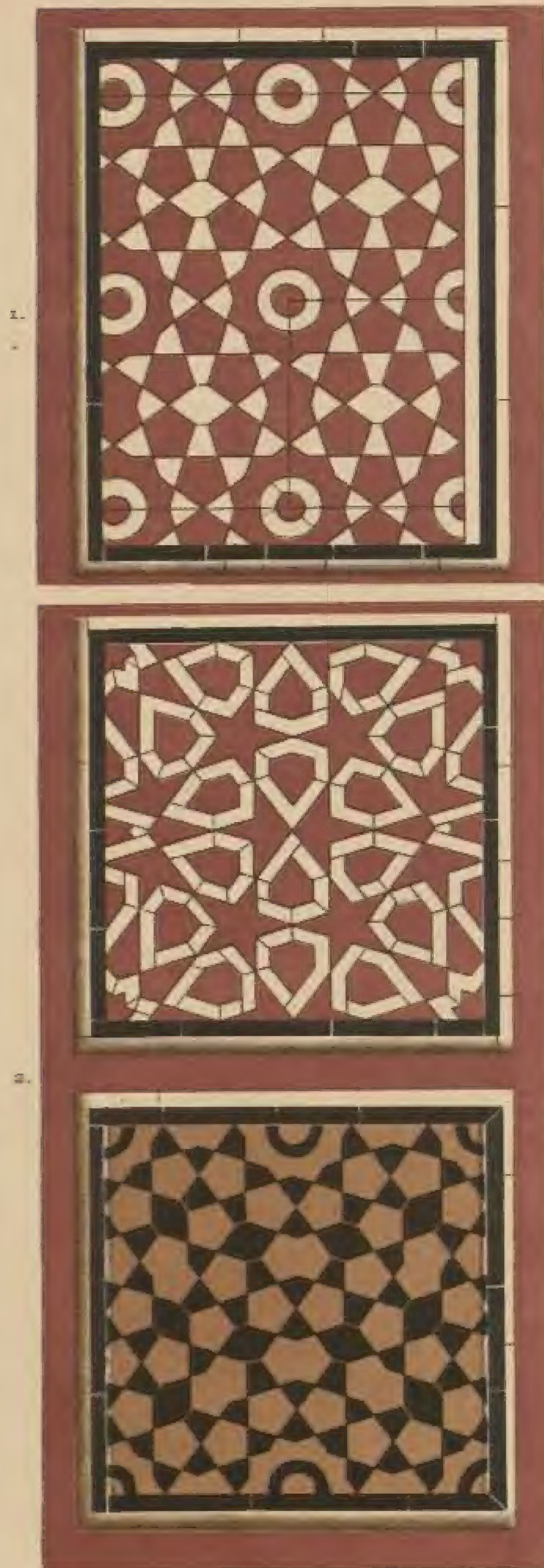


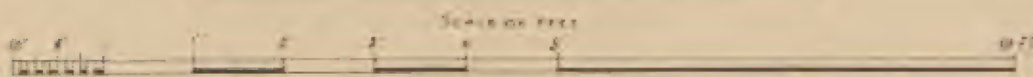
DETAILS OF PANELS ON THE GREAT CENTRAL ARCH: WEST FAÇADE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

1. 2.

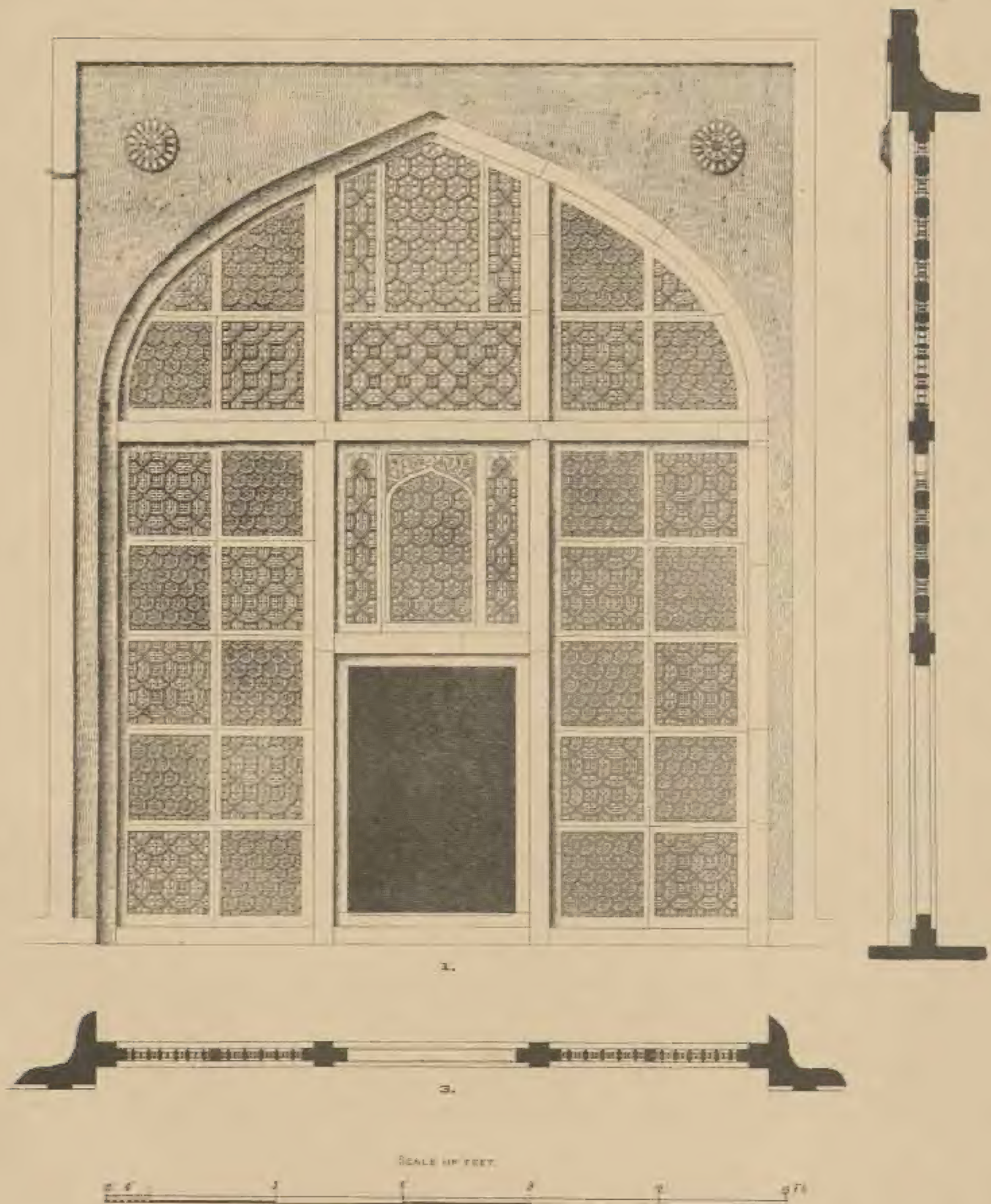


DETAILS OF PANELS ON THE GREAT CENTRAL ARCH: WEST FAÇADE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.



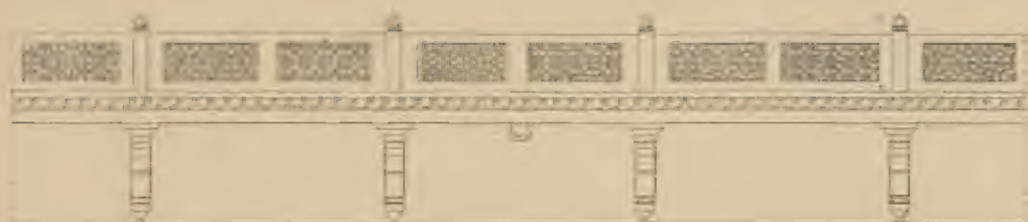


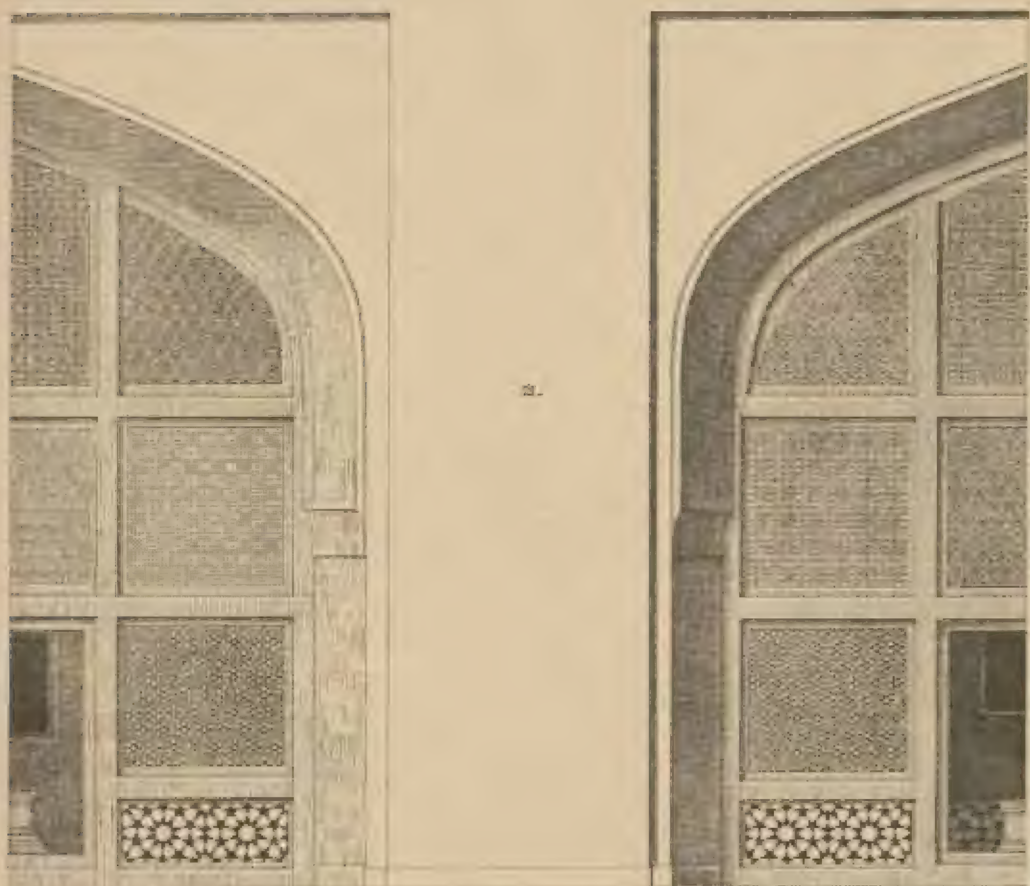
DETAILS OF PANELS ON THE GREAT CENTRAL ARCH:
WEST FAÇADE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.



ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF SCREEN IN THE ENTRANCE
TO THE TOMB: SOUTH FAÇADE.

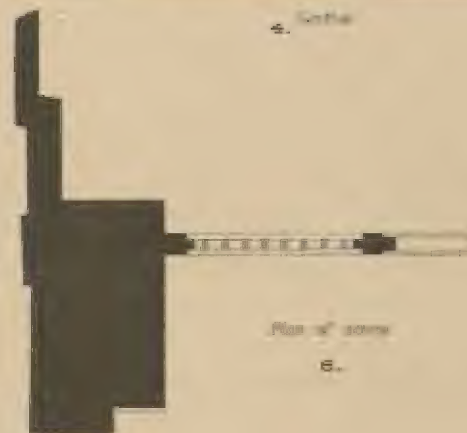














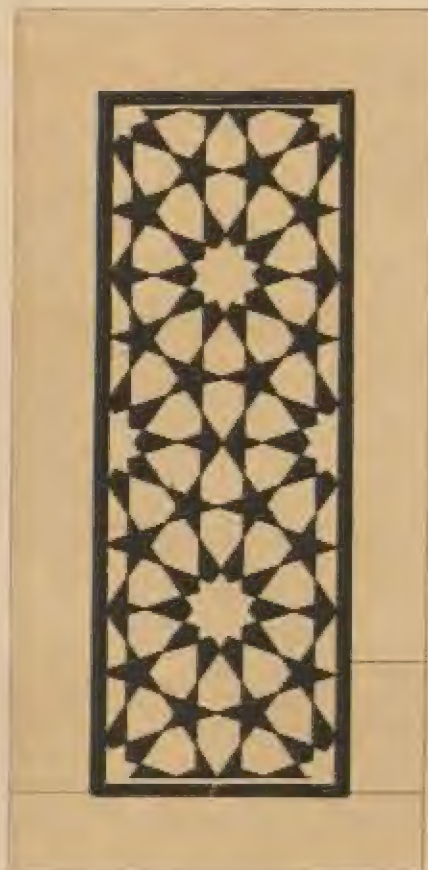
ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF BAYS IN THE CLOISTERS.
SOUTH FAÇADE, GROUND FLOOR.



1.



2.

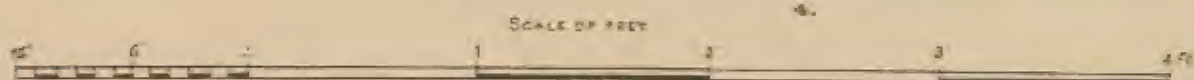


3.



4.

SCALE OF FEET

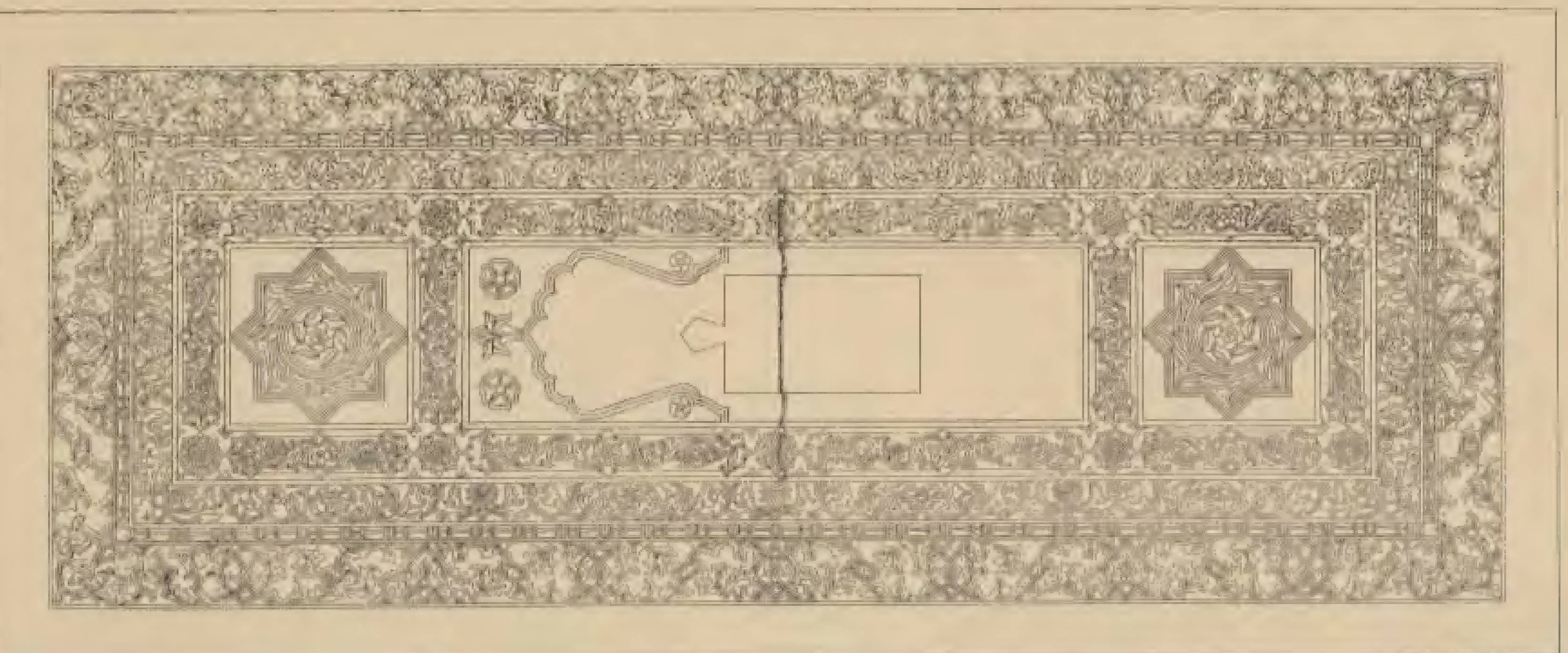


PAVEMENTS AND DADOS IN THE BURIAL CHAMBERS ON THE EAST AND WEST SIDES OF THE VESTIBULE: GROUND FLOOR.

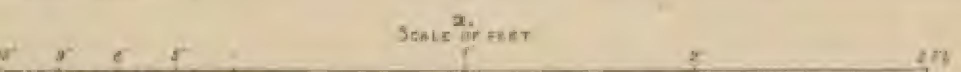
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



1.



2.



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF SHAKRU-N-NISĀ'S TOMB.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



DETAILS OF THE SOUTH END OF SHAKRU-N-NISĀ'S TOMB.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



COLOURED ORNAMENT ON THE SOFFIT OF THE VAULTED VESTIBULE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE CRYPT.



CENTRAL MEDALLION IN THE CEILING OF THE VESTIBULE.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.





MURAL DECORATION ON THE EAST WALL OF THE VESTIBULE.



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY OF THE GARDEN: NORTH ELEVATION.

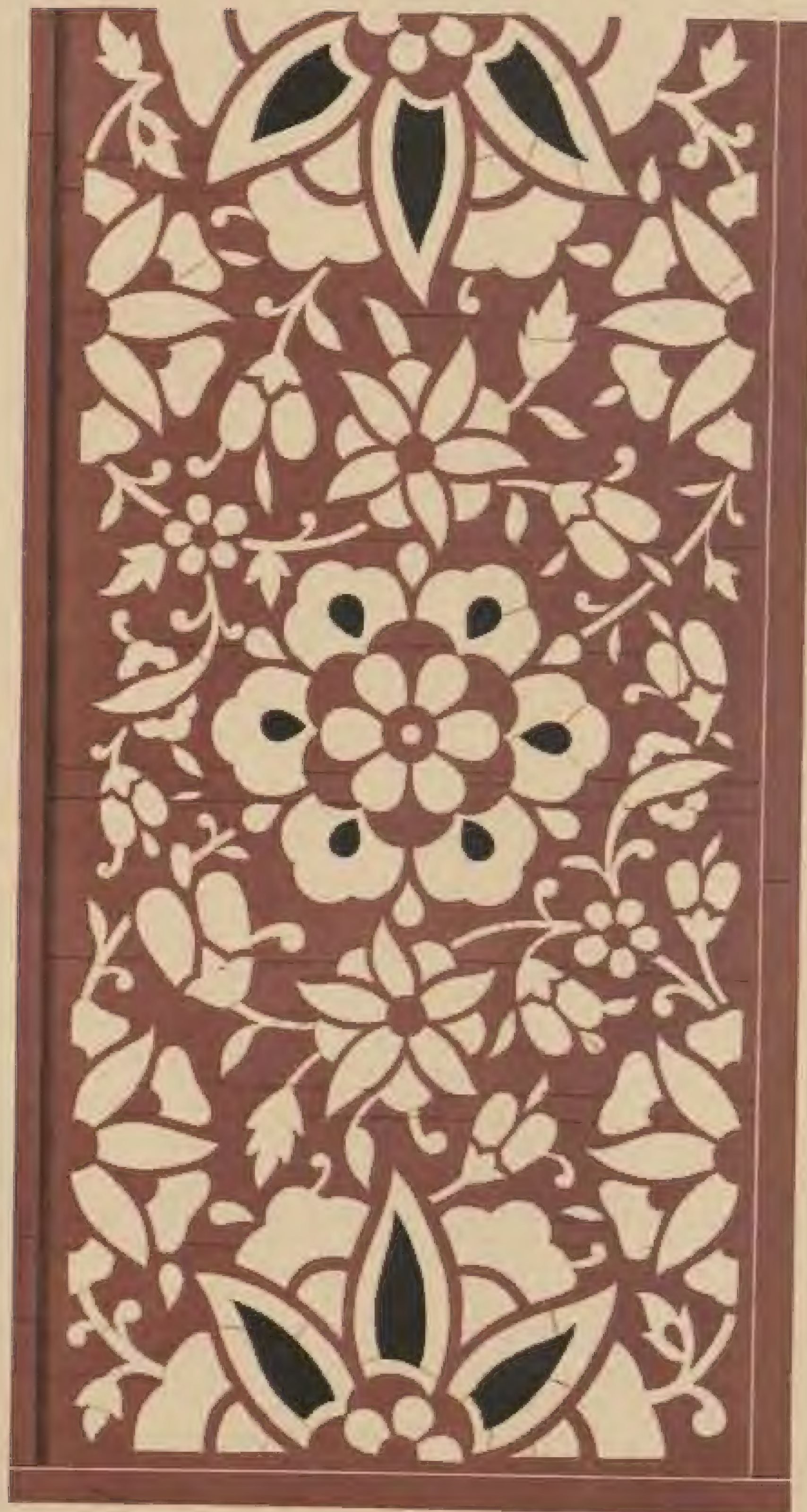
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.

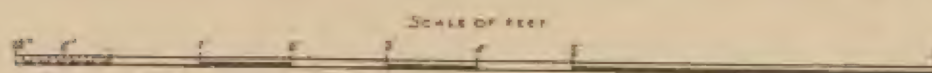


SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY OF THE GARDEN: SOUTH FAÇADE.

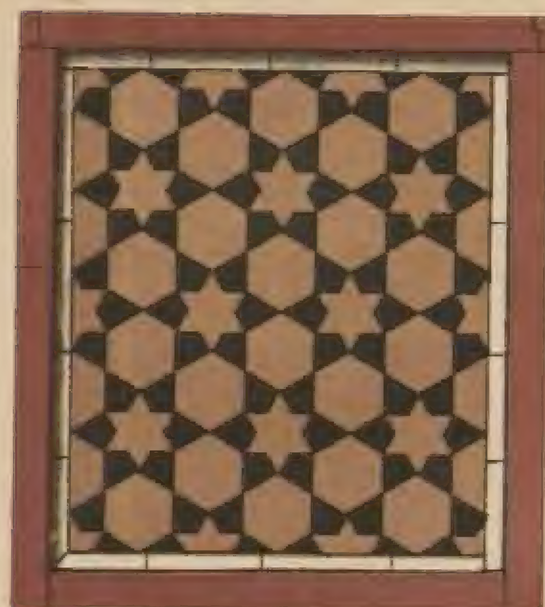


SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAIL OF THE CENTRAL DOORWAY, NORTH FAÇADE.

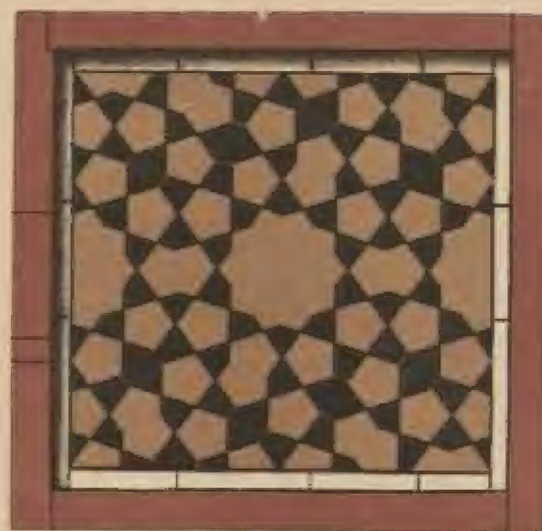




SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAIL OF THE FLORAL SCREEN SURROUNDING THE GREAT ARCHWAY.



1.



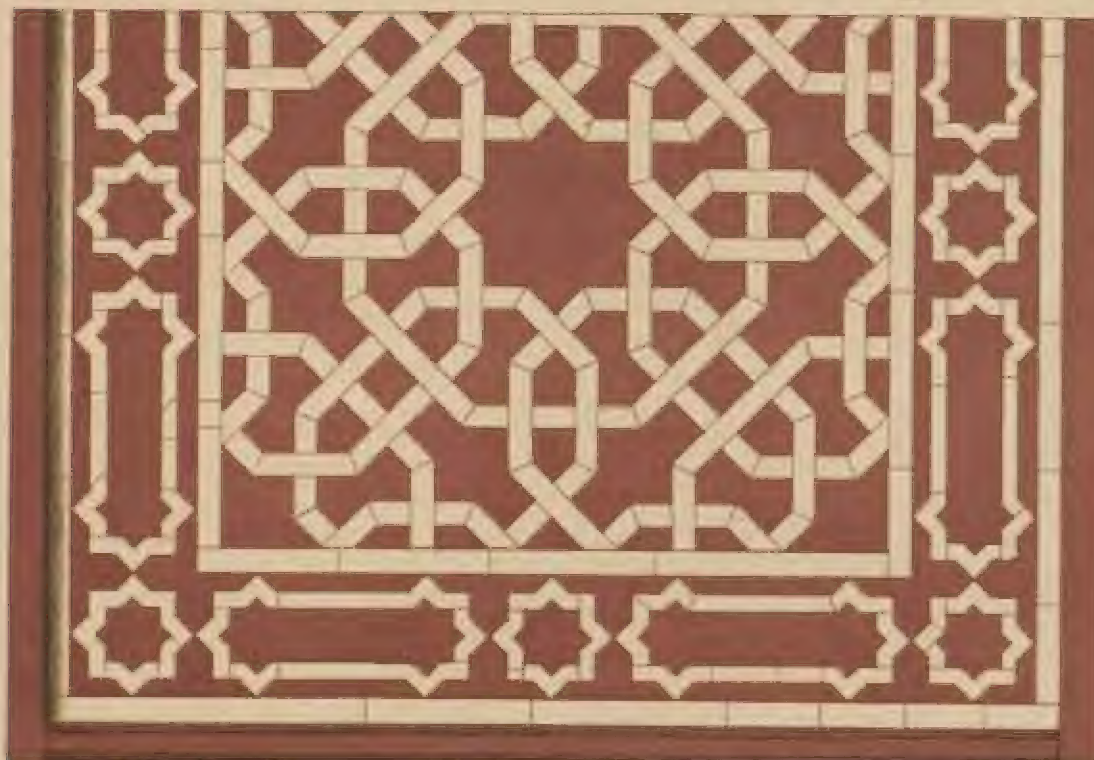
2.



3.



4.



5.

Scale of Feet



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF ORNAMENTATION ON THE DADOS AND SIDES OF THE ARCHWAYS.



1.



2.



3.



4.

Scale of feet.



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: INLAID BORDERS ROUND THE PANELS ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH FAÇADES.



1.

2.

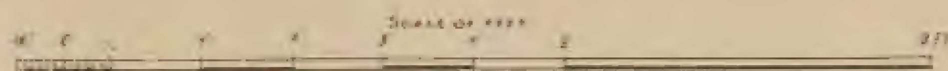
SCALE OF FEET

SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF PANELS AT THE SIDES OF THE GREAT ARCH.



1.

2.

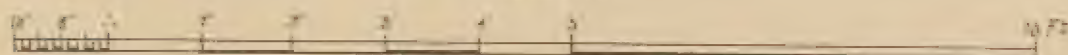


SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF PANELS.

1.

2.

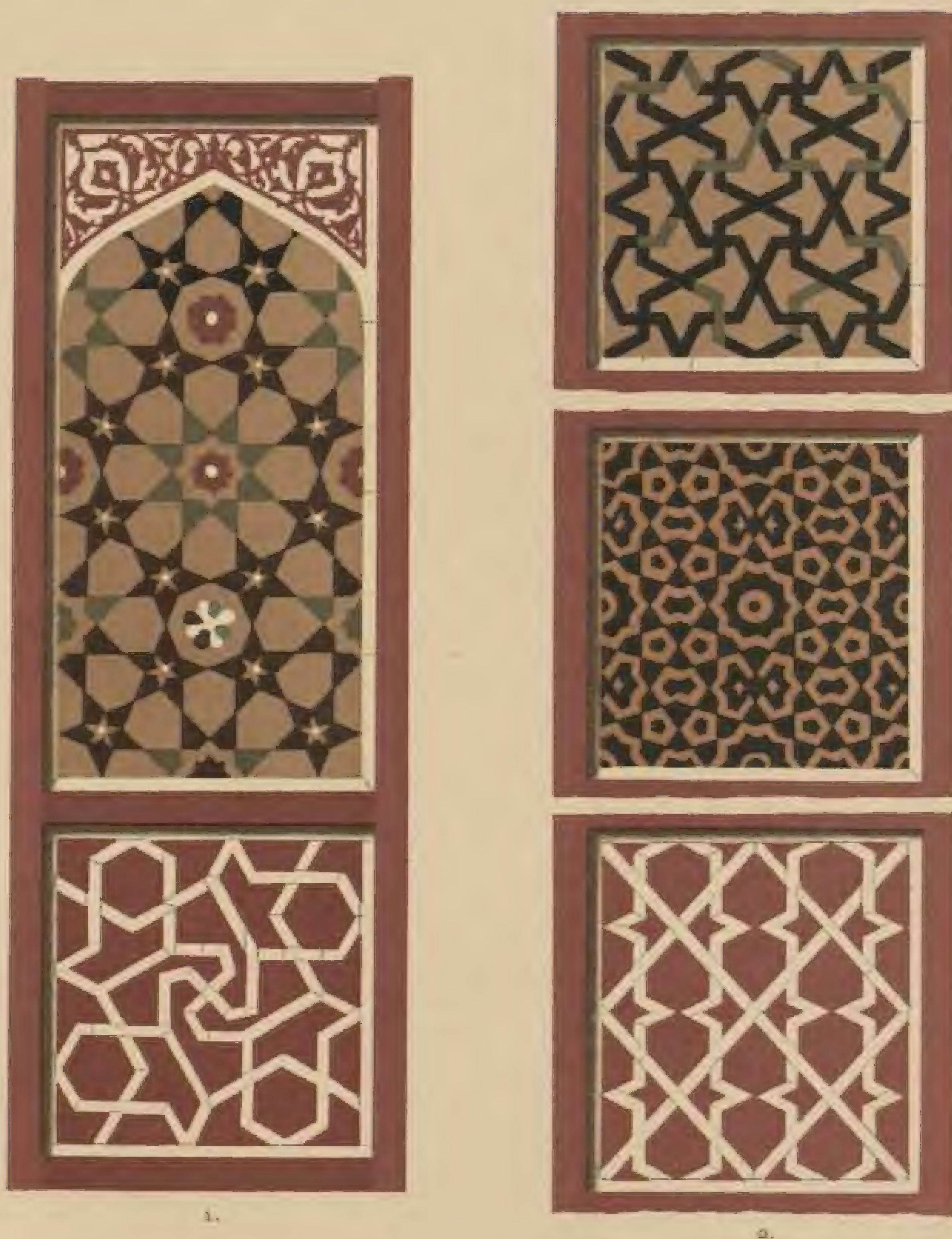
Scale of Feet



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF PANELS



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



1.

2.

SCALE OF FEET

SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF PANELS.





SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: SPANDRELS OF ARCHED RECESSES ON THE GROUND FLOOR, NORTH AND SOUTH FACADES.



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: SPANDRELS OF ARCHED RECESS ON FIRST FLOOR,
EAST SIDE OF NORTH FAÇADE.



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: SPANDREL OF THE ARCHED RECESS ON THE FIRST FLOOR, WEST SIDE OF THE NORTH FAÇADE.



SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: SPANDREL OF ARCHED RECESS ON GROUND FLOOR, WEST FAÇADE.

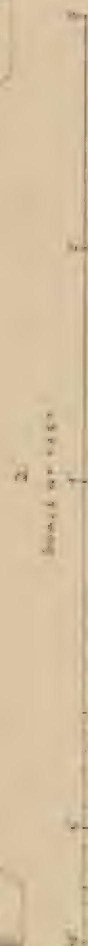
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



1.

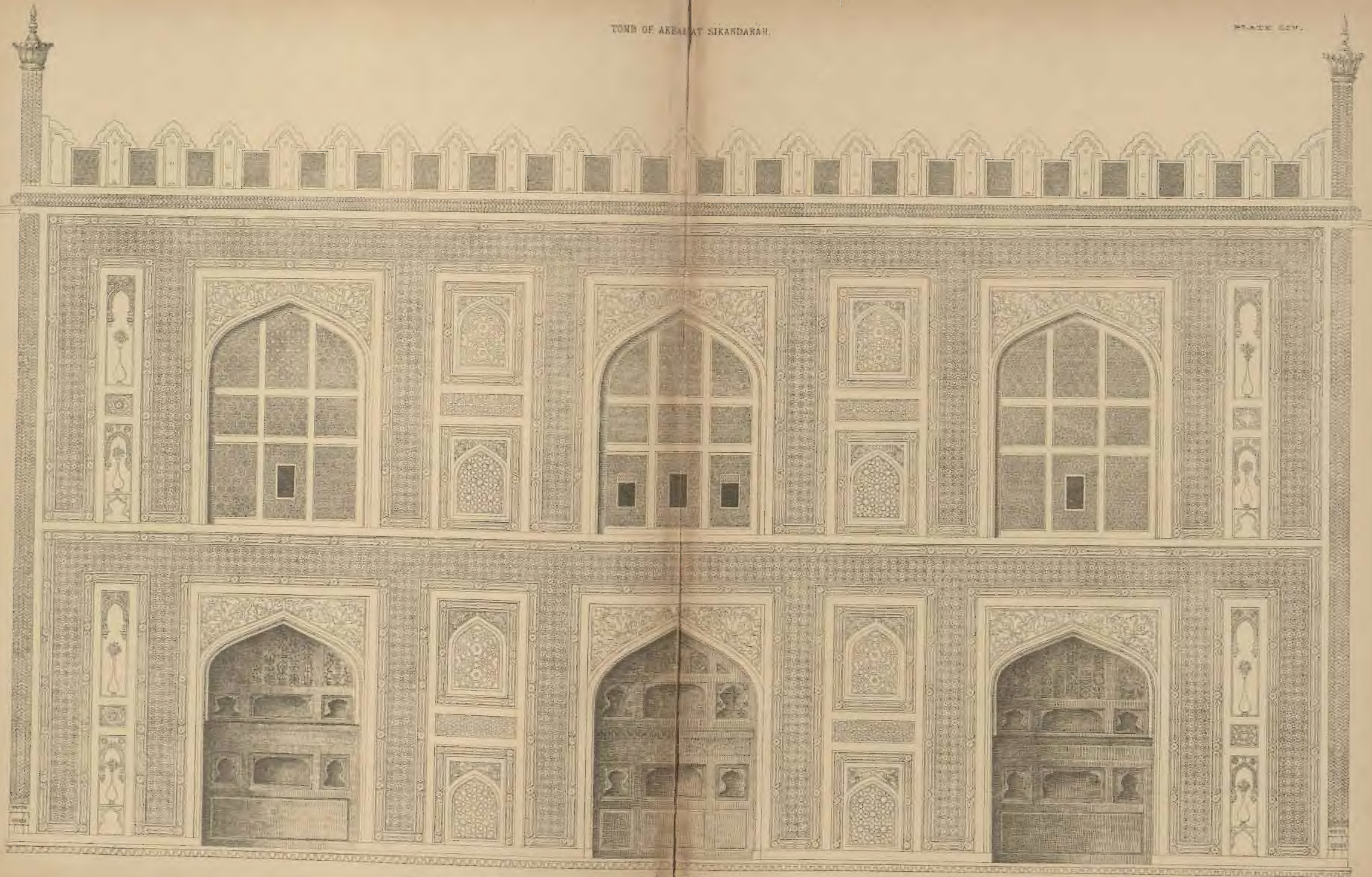


2.

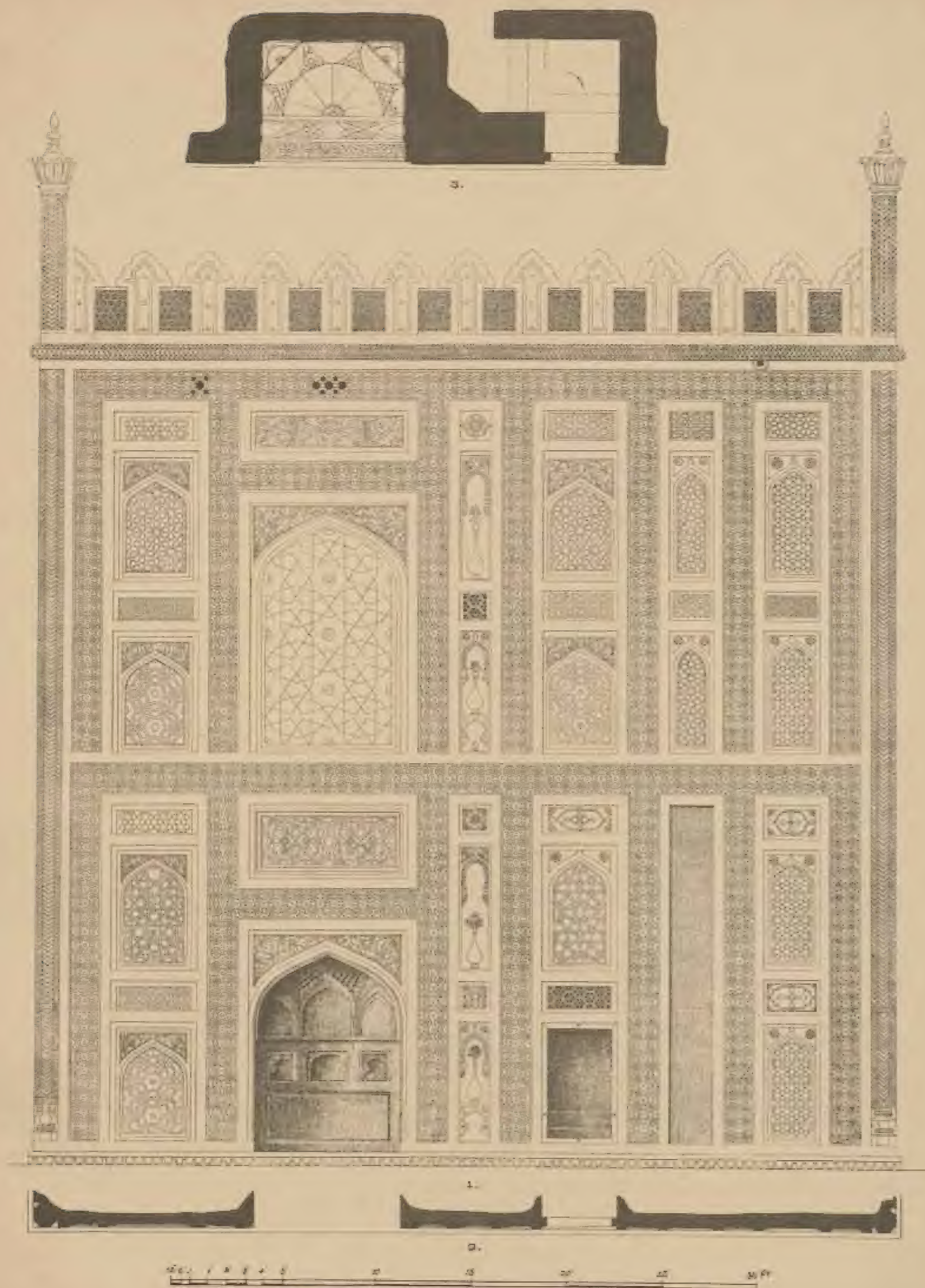


SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY: DETAILS OF ARCHES AND INSCRIBED PANELS ROUND BASE OF DOME, INSIDE THE HALL.





WEST FALSE GATE: ELEVATION OF THE WEST FAÇADE.

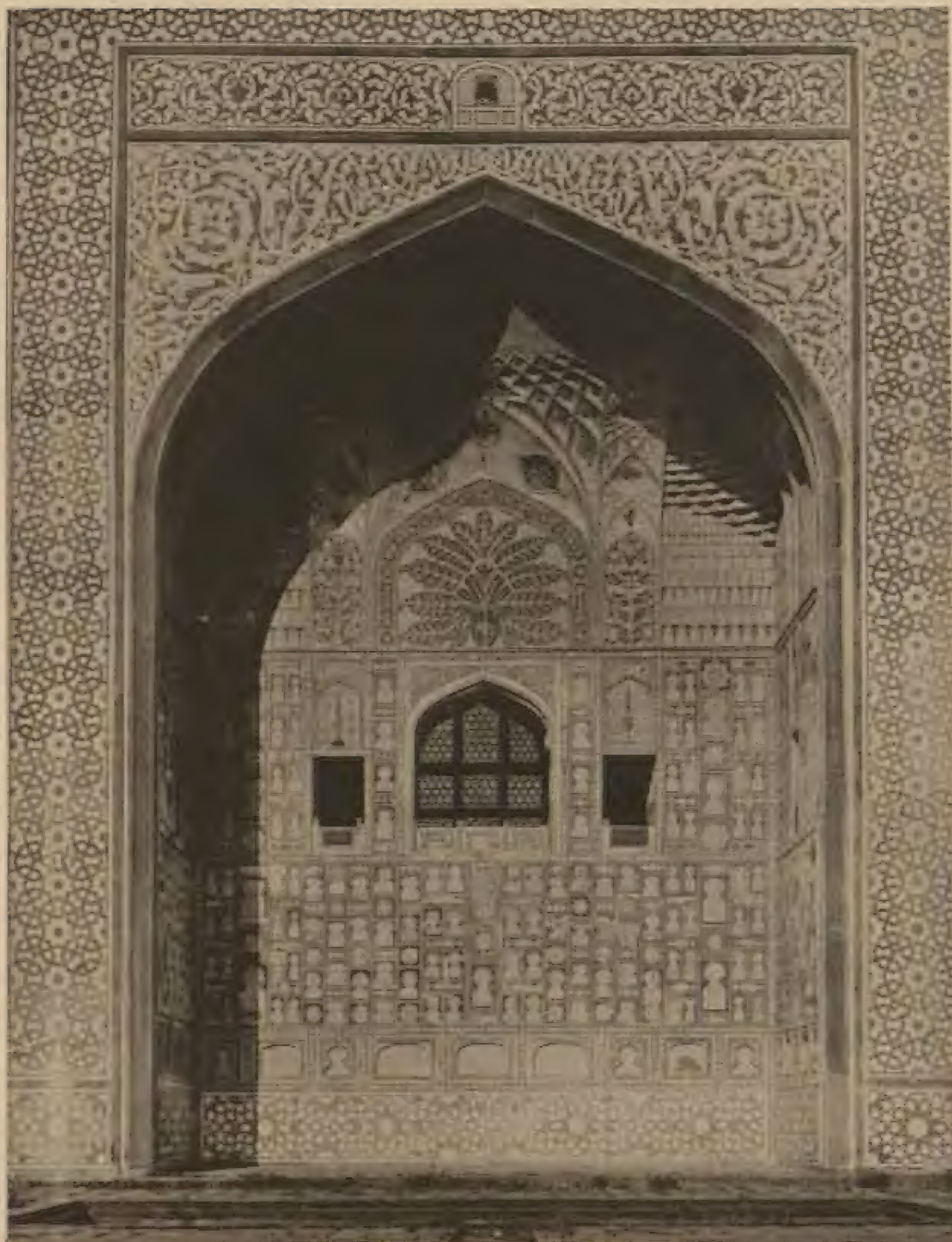


WEST FALSE GATE: ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF NORTH FAÇADE.



THE WEST FALSE GATE: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE EAST.

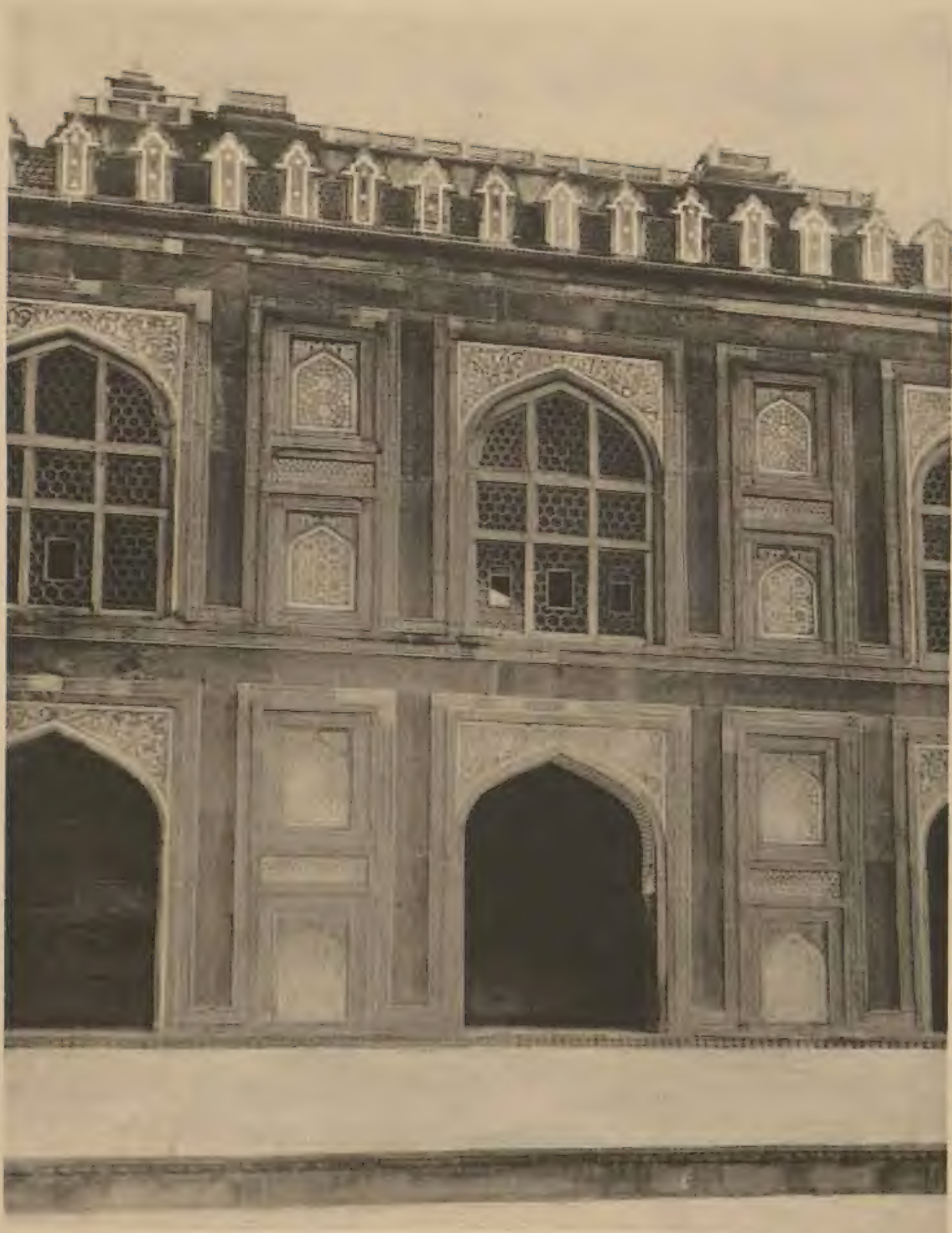
TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



THE WEST FALSE GATE: DETAIL OF THE GREAT ARCH IN THE EAST FAÇADE.

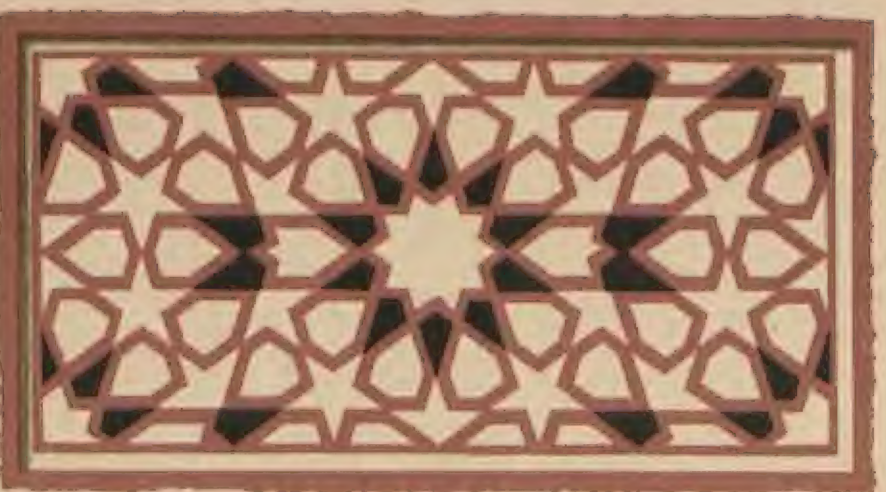


WEST FALSE GATE: VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

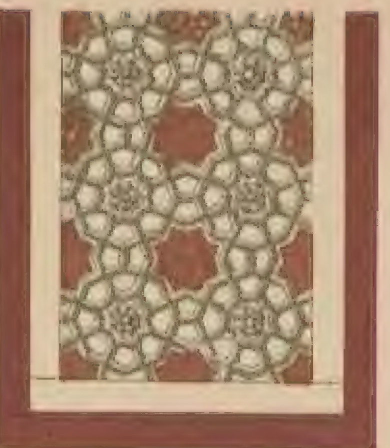


WEST FALSE GATE: CENTRAL PORTION OF WEST FAÇADE.

TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDARAH.



1.



3.



2.



4.

Scale of feet



Scale of feet



WEST FALSE GATE: DETAILS OF PANELS, EAST FRONT, GROUND FLOOR.

1.

2.



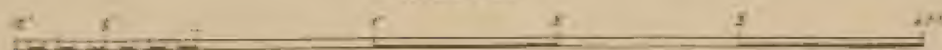
WEST FALSE GATE: DETAILS OF INLAID PANELS, NORTH FAÇADE.

1.

2.



3.

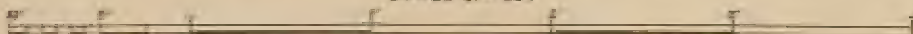


EAST FALSE GATE: CARVED PANELS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF EAST WALL.

Fig. I

Fig. II

SCALE OF FEET





NORTH FALSE GATE: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

Archæological Reports published under official authority.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA*—		
Illustration of ancient buildings in Kashmir.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R. E., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1869.
Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, &c., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole ...	1870.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.).	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Government Central Press, Simla, 1871.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.).	Ditto	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.).	Ditto	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu Muhammadan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R. E., late Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1873.
"Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto
Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.).	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistants, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1874.
Report of the first season's operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burges, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W. 1874.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rájendralála Mitra ...	Wyman & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
Report for the year 1972-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.

*Note.—The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director General of the Archæological Survey of India), which extend over the years 1862—1884 inclusive, are marked C. S. in this list.

The reports of the New Imperial Series, which began in 1874 and are still in progress, are marked N. I. S.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report on the antiquities of Káthiáwád and Kachh. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Volume I, Inscriptions of Asoka.	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1877.
The Rock Temple of Elura or Verul.	J. Burgess	1877.
Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W. 1878.
Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72; and 1872-73, Volume VI. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1878.
Report of a tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in the Central Provinces 1873-74, Volume VII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, and Bhagalpur; The Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singbhum, and Birbhum, Bankura, Raniganj, Bardwan and Hugli in 1872-73, Volume VIII. (C. S.)	Ditto	Ditto.
Pali Sanskrit, and old Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Maisur, arranged and explained.	J. F. Fleet, Bombay Civil Service, and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1878.
The Stûpa of Bharhut; a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Bhudhist legend and history in the third century B.C.	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W. 1879.
Report of tours in Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1879.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75, Volume IX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77, Volume X. (C. S.)	Ditto	Ditto, 1880.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and, date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report of tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78, Volume XI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1880.
Report on the Amarávati tope and excavations on its site in 1877.	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1880.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume II.	Rájendralála Mitra ...	W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1880.
The Cave Temples of India.	J. Fergusson and J. Burgess	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1880.
First report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1882.
Report of tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XIII. (C. S.)	J. D Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta. 1882.
Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Volume XIV. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Bihar and Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon, Volume XV. (C. S.)	Ditto	Ditto.
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
Preliminary reports by Curator, Ancient Monuments in India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
(*a*) Madras Presidency—		
The Seven Pagodas . .	Ditto	Ditto.
Velur	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Trichinopoly	Ditto	Ditto.
Srirangam	Ditto	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(a) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
Kombakonam	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Chillambaram	Ditto	Ditto.
Conjeveram	Ditto	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto	Ditto.
(b) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto	Ditto.
(c) Bijapur	Ditto	Ditto.
(d) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto	Ditto.
(e) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
Kalburgan	Ditto	Ditto.
(f) Punjab—		
(Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusafzai, with a description of the explorations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and suggestions for the disposal of the sculptures.)	Ditto	Ditto.
Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83.	Ditto	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(f) Punjab—*contd.*		
Reports of tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81, Volume XVI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Preservation of National Monuments—Fortress Gwalior.	J. B. Keith, Superintending Monumental Preservation.	Ditto.
Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I—Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.	J. Anderson, Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Ditto.
Ditto ditto, Part II—Gupta and Inscription Galleries.	Ditto	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Gorakhpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77, Volume XVIII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report on the Elura cave temples and the other Brahmancial and Jaina caves in Western India (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Achæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82, Volume XVII. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1884.
List of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1884.
Preservation of National Monuments, India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Plates prepared in Paris, 1884-85.
(a) Agra and Gwalior ...	Ditto	Ditto.
(b) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto	Ditto.
(c) Delhi	Ditto	Ditto.
(d) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai.	Ditto	Ditto.
(e) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto	Ditto.
(f) Meywar	Ditto	Ditto.
(g) Buildings of the Punjab ...	Ditto	Ditto.
(h) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Plates prepared in Paris, 1884-85.
(*j*) The temples at Trichinopoly,	Ditto	Ditto.
Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1883-84.	Ditto	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1885.
Report of a tour through Bihar, Central India, Peshawar, and Yusufzai, during 1881-82, Volume XIX. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Eastern Râjpûtâna in 1882-83, Volume XX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Reports of a tour in Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84 and of a tour in Rewa, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwalior in 1884-85, Volume XXI. (C. S.)	Ditto	Ditto.
Report of tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur in 1877-78-79 and 80, Volume XXII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in the Panjab and Râjpûtâna in 1883-84, Volume XXIII. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1887.
General Index to the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Volumes I—XXIII. (C. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
The Buddhist stûpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, with translations of the Asoka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Director General, Archæological Survey of India and G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., &c.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1887.
List (s) of photographs of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities.	...	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III. (Gupta Inscriptions.)	J. F. Fleet	Ditto, 1888.
The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Assistant.	Ditto, 1889.
Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details: Parts I—X.	Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E.,	Griggs & Sons, London, 1890—98.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
South Indian Inscriptions (Volume I.) (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1890.
List of photographic negatives of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities in the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.	J. Wood-Mason and J. D. Beglar.	1890.
South Indian Inscriptions (Volume II.) (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1891—95.
The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891.
Epigraphia Indica of the Archæological Survey of India (Volume I.) (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1892.
Mahabodi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi tree, at Buddha Gaya.	A. Cunningham, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1892.
Epigraphia Indica of the Arhæological Survey of India (Volume II.) (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1894.
Notes on the Antiquities, Ethnography, and History of Las Bela and Mekran.	T. H. Holdich, Superintendent, Survey of India.	Ditto.
South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1894.
List of Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg. (N. I. S.)	Ditto ...	Ditto.
List of photographic negatives belonging to the India Office.	...	Ditto.
Bower Manuscripts. (N. I. S.)	A. Hœrnle, Principal, Calcutta Madrassah.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1893-97.
The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri, Parts I—IV. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1894—98.
On the Muhammadan Architecture in Gujrat. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1896.
Châlukyan Architecture, including examples from the Ballâri District, Madras Presidency. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1896.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berâr. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1897.
Monumental remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1897.
Revised lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1897.
South Indian Inscriptions (Volume III, Part I). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1899.
A list of photographic negatives of Indian Antiquities in the collection of the Indian Museum with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India Office.	Dr. T. Bloch, 1st Assistant Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900.
List of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's territories. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Ditto.
The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part I. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1900.
Report on results of explorations in the Nepal Tarai, Part I. (N. I. S.)	P. C. Mukherji, lately employed on Archæological explorations under the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1901.
The Jaina Stûpa and some other Antiquities of Mathurâ (N. I. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Government Press, United Provinces, 1901.
Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, Part I. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto.
The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1903.
The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part II, with Muslim and Hindu Remains in the vicinity. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director General of the Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto, 1905.
Portfolio of illustrations of Sind Tiles.	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle.	W. Griggs & Sons, Limited, 1906.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*concld.*		
Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India for the year 1902-03, Parts I and II.	J. H. Marshall, Director General of Archæology in India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1904.
Ditto for the year 1903-04, Parts I and II.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905-06.
Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part I.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part II.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1905-06, Part I.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year 1905-06, Part II.	Ditto ..	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1906-07, Part I.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1909.
Ditto for the year 1906-07, Part II.	Ditto ..	Ditto, 1909.
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Notes and Inscriptions from Temples in the Madura District, Volume IV.	J. Burgess, Government Archæological Surveyor for Western and Southern India.	Ditto, 1885-86.
Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions with some notes on village antiquities collected chiefly in the south of the Madras Presidency.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1886.
List of ancient monuments for conservation in the Madras Presidency in 1884.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1886-87.
Ditto, in 1891	A. Rea, Archæological Surveyor, Madras.	Ditto, 1891.
Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archæological Survey of India, Volume III, 1894-95.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1895.
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Ditto „ VIII, 1905-06	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1907.
List of tombs and monuments of Europeans, &c., in the Madras District.	Government of Madras ...	Government Press, Madras, 1898.
List of tombs and monuments erected in Madras.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
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Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Madras and Coorg, for the year 1899-1900.	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto, 1900-01 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, 1901-02 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, 1902-03 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, 1903-04 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, 1904-05 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1905-06.	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
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Ditto, for the year 1907-08 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1908.
Report on Epigraphical work accomplished from July 1891 to June 1892.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1892.
Ditto July 1892 to June 1893.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto do. 1893 to do. 1894.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto do. 1894 to do. 1895.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto do. 1896 to do. 1897.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto do. 1897 to do. 1898.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1898.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author	Press, and date of publication.
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Ditto do. 1900 to do. 1901.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto do. 1901 to do. 1902.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto do. 1902 to do. 1903.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto do. 1903 to do. 1904.	V. Venkayya Officiating Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1904.
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Ditto for the year 1907-08.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1908.
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The Antiquities of Kolhapoor illustrated. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 8.)	...	1854.
Extracts in connection with Muhammadan Architecture at Beejapoor, in the Satara Districts, etc., (1854). Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 40).	...	1857.
Observations on inscriptions on copper-plates dug up at Naroor, in the Koodal Division of the Sawunt Waree State, 1848; with translations and facsimiles, 1851. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 10).	Major G. LeG. Jacob ..	1855.
Rock-cut Temples of Western India.	J. Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.	Cundall & Downes, London, 1864.

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Report on the illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India, &c.	Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Fergusson, General Cunningham, and Colonel Meadows Taylor.	1869.
Notes to accompany a series of photographs designed to illustrate the Ancient Architecture of Western India.	Captain Lyon, late of Her Majesty's 68th Regiment of Light Infantry.	Carey Brothers, Old College Street, 3, Geneva, 1871.
Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, and J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1874.
Memorandum on the antiquities at Dabhoi, Amedabad, Than, Junagadh, Girnar, and Dhank.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1875.
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Buddhist Caves of Ajanta. Second edition.	Prepared by Major R. Gill and revised by James Burgess, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.	Ditto.
Notes on the antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole, and Koperguam forming the charge of the 2nd Assistant Collector, Ahmadnagar, with revised lists of remains in the Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kalâdgi Zillahs.	W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1877.
Architectural and Archæological remains in Khandesh in 1877.	W. H. Propert, Collector of Khandesh.	Ditto.
Reports (from the Collectors) regarding the Archæological remains in the Karachi, Haidarabad, and Shikarpur Collectorates in Sindh, with plans of tombs.	...	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Notes on the Buddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bagh Caves, modern Buddha Mythology, &c.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Ditto.
Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes, &c.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit.	Ditto, 1881.
Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, Sindh and Berâr, with an Appendix of inscriptions from Gujarat.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1885.
Scheme for the protection and conservation of ancient buildings in and around the City of Ahmedabad.	A. W. Crawley Boevy, C.S.	Education Society's Press, Bombay 1886.
List of photographs of ancient buildings and antiquities, Bombay.	...	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
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List of Photographic Negatives of ancient buildings and antiquities of the Bombay Presidency.	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1888.
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Bijapur Guide	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Orphanage Press, Poona, 1889.
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Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the months of December 1889 to April 1890.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1890.
Ditto for the months of May 1890 to April 1891.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1891.
Ditto for the months of May 1891 to April 1892.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1892.
Ditto for the months of May 1892 to April 1893.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the months of May 1893 to April 1894.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the months of May 1894 to August 1895.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the months of September 1895 to April 1896.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1897.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1898.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1899.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1904.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1905.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905.
Ditto for the months July to March 1906, inclusive.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the year ending 31st March 1907.	H. Cousens, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1907.
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Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India. Volume I (Pictorial subjects).	John Griffiths, late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	W. Griggs, London, 1896.
Ditto ditto, Volume II (Decorative details).	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.
BENGAL—		
Account of a visit to Mount Parisnath (in Chutia Nagpoor) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1827. (Ser. 250, Sel. Rec., Bengal, No. 38.)	A. P.	1861.
Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna.	A. M. Broadley, B.C.S. ...	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872.
Report on the Archæology of the District of Midnapore.	H. L. Harrison, B.C.S. ...	Ditto, 1873.
Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sâkya Muni.	Râjendralâla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.	Ditto, 1878.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Bengal.	...	Ditto, 1879.
A list of the objects of antiquarian interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (with historical descriptions).	...	Ditto, 1879.
Revised list of ancient monuments in Bengal, 1886.	Government of Bengal, P. W. Department, assisted by J. D. Beglar and W. B. B.	Ditto, 1887.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District.	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto, 1891.
Discovery of the exact site of Aśoka's classic Capital of Pâtaliputra, the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains.	L. A. Waddell, M.B. ...	Ditto, 1892.
A Brief History of the Bodh Gaya Math.	Rai Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh, Bahadur.	Ditto, 1893.

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Sikkim Gazetteer	...	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1894.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District with an explanatory Index (Reprint).	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
List of Statues, Monuments, and Busts in Calcutta of historical interest.	...	Ditto.
List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments possessing historical or archæological interest.	C. R. Wilson, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896.
List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal—Revised and corrected up to 31st August 1895.	...	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1896.
List of ancient monuments :—		
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Rajshahi Division ...	...	Ditto.
Orissa Division	...	Ditto.
Chota Nagpur Division ...	...	Ditto.
Bhagalpur Division ...	...	Ditto.
Chittagong Division ...	...	Ditto.
Burdwan Division ...	...	Ditto.
Patna Division	...	Ditto.
Presidency Division ...	...	Ditto.
Report with photograph of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhūbānēsvār and caves in the Khāndāgirī and Udaigirī Hills, Orissa, between 1898 and 1903.	M. H. Arnott, M. Inst. C.E., Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works.	Waterlow & Sons, Limited, London, W., 1903.
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year 1900-01.	T. Bloch, Archæologicial Surveyor, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901.
Ditto for the year ended April 1902.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
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Ditto for the year ended April 1904.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1904.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year ended April 1905.	T. Bloch, Archæological Surveyor, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1905.
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1905-06.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for 1906-07	A. H. Longhurst, Officiating Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for 1907-08	T. Bloch, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1908.
UNITED PROVINCES—		
Description of the antiquities at Kalinjar.	F. Maisey	Baptist Mission Press, 1884.
List of Photographic Negatives of the monumental antiquities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, and E. W. Smith, Architectual Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
Progress Reports of the Epigraphical and Architectural Branches of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from October 1889 till 30th June 1891.	Ditto ...	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1892.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year 1891-92.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor.	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1892.
Ditto for the year ending June 1893.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the year ending June 1895.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1896.
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Ditto for the year ending June 1898.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1898.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
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Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	...	Government Press, United Provinces, 1902.
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Ditto 1905 ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.
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Ditto ditto 1907-08.	R. F. Tucker, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1908.
List of Christian tombs and monuments of archæological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.
The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S. ...	Ditto.
Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London.
Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Poorno Chander Mukerji .	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1899.
Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto ...	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Objects of antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	...	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director General, Archæological Survey.	...
Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator ...	1889.
Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	W. Ball & Co., Lahore, 1891.
List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein ...	1899.
Revised list of objects of archæological interest in the Punjab.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.
Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.
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Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto ...	Economical Press, Lahore, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1908.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamagarhi during the months of March and April 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 12th February 1874.)	Lieut. A. Crompton, R.E.	1874.
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E. ...	1874.
Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusafzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wilcher, R.E.	1874.
Report on the explorations at mound Shahji-ka-dheri near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875.
Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E. ...	1876.
Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E. ...	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
Memorandum on excavations at Sikri, Yusafzai.	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Pubjab Government Press, Lahore, 1889.
Detailed report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal Oriental College, Lahore.	Ditto, 1898.
Report of Archæological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the period from January 2nd, 1904, to March 31st, 1905.	M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Inspector General of Education and Archæological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	Government Press North-West Frontier Province, 1905.
Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1906-07.	Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for 1907-08 ...	Ditto	Commercial Press, Peshawar, 1908.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1880.
Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—		
I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto	Ditto, 1883.
II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvanabhumi.	Ditto	Ditto, 1884.
List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto	Ditto.
Reports on Archæological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review, dated 18th June 1889.)	Dr. E Forchhammer ...	1889.
The Po U. Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
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Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Achœologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions ...	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts.	Ditto	Ditto.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinbyuyin, 1774 A.D.	Ditto	Ditto.
A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto	Ditto.
Note on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Lieutenant Colonel R. C Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality, Burma.	Ditto, 1894.
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Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1897.
Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1899.
Translations with notes—		
Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto, 1900—1903.
Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum, Vol. I.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects of antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Report on archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, ditto 1903-04.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, ditto 1904-05.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Government Press, Burma, 1907.
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Mysore and Coorg—		
Mysore Inscriptions ...	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Coorg Inscriptions	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.
Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore.	Ditto, 1889.
Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscription in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto, Part II	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto, Inspections in the Kadur District.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hasan District, in 2 sections.	Ditto ..	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Simoga District, Parts I and II.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug district.	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1903.
Inscriptions at Tumkur ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1904.
Inscriptions at Kolar ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, 1905.
Assam—		
Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
List of archæological remains in the Province of Assam.	...	Ditto, 1902.

List of public libraries, &c., to which copies of the Archæological Survey Reports, New Imperial Series, are regularly supplied.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA.

United Kingdom.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

London University Library, Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Edinburgh " " Edinburgh.

Glasgow " " Glasgow.

Aberdeen " " Aberdeen.

Trinity College Library, Dublin.

Folklore Society, II, Old Square Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, London.

Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The Royal " Windsor Castle, Berks

Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London.

Royal Society, Edinburgh.

Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.

National Library of Ireland, Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

Imperial Institute, London.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.

Society for the promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3 Hanover Square, W. London.

France.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Institut de France, Paris.

Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iena, Paris.

Germany.

Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.

Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.

Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.

Königlé Gesellschaft der Wissenchaften Zo Göttingen, Göttingen.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

AUSTRIA.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.
Hungarian Academy, Buda-Pesth.

ITALY.

Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.
R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
The Societá Asiatica Italiana Firenze.
British School at Rome.
American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.
Royal Institute of Netherlands, India. The Hague, Holland.
Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.
Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.
University Library, Upsala, Sweden.
" " Christiania, Norway.
British School at Athens, Greece.
La Sociéte Archéologique, d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

AMERICA.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn., U S. A.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.
Field Museum of Natural History Chicago.

BRITISH COLONIES.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.
Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.
Melbourne Library, Melbourne.
University Library Sydney, New South Wales.
Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.
North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur de l'Ecole francaise d'extrême Orient, Hanoi.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.
Institut Français D'Archèologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo, Egypt.
Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

(1) Imperial.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

* Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

(2) Provincial.

Madras.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.

University " Madras.

Public " "

Presidency College "

School of Art "

Government Central Museum, Madras.

Christian College Library "

Bombay.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.

University " "

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

School of Art, Bombay.

The College of Science, Poona.

Bengal.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.

Presidency College Library, I, College Square, Calcutta.

Sanskrit College Library, I, College Square, Calcutta.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

United Provinces.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.

University " Allahabad.

Public Library, Allahabad.

Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.

Sanskrit College, Benares.

Thomason College, Roorkee.

Archæological Museum, Muttra.

Punjab.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.

Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

Museum Library, Lahore.

University Library, Lahore.

Government College Library, Lahore.

Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

North-West Frontier Province.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.

Museum Library, Peshawar.

* Director General's Report, Part II.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.
The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.
The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.
Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor General, Indore.
The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.
Raj Kumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, Ajmer.
College Library, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.



